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THE NEW REPUBLIC

A Journal of Opinion

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Another European Crisis?

Is Hitler preparing a new European crisis? There are disturbing reports that this is the case, that it will come in February or sooner, and that it will demand, not Memel from Lithuania as had been supposed, but Alsace from France. Italy a few days ago herself made a sweeping set of demands against the French. She wants complete control of the railway from Jibouti to Addis Ababa, in Ethiopia; the town of Jibouti itself; one-half the control of the Suez Canal and—even more serious—one-half the control of Tunisia, in North Africa. This looks very much like a "scissors movement" from both ends of the Rome-Berlin axis simultaneously. Whether the dictators will get what they want it is too early to say, but it is hard to see how they can now be stopped, after the great retreat and betrayal of democracy in September.

The New Trade Treaty

Signing of the new trade treaties with Great Britain and Canada, treaties which long have been under negotiation, extends Secretary Hull's principle of reciprocal lowering of trade barriers to the two nations with which we enjoy our greatest volume of commerce. Substantial concessions on both sides ought to increase somewhat both imports and exports. Regarding this commendable result certain common misconceptions are likely to be entertained. One is that it will endanger output and employment through competition by foreign manufacturers. But this cannot be true on both sides of the tariff fence at once: the net result, if trade increases at all, will benefit some producers even if it injures some. Another misconception is that this sort of thing, if carried far enough, will abolish depressions and solve all the ills of capitalism. But of course merely extending the area of trade will not get rid of maladjustments common to capitalist economies the world around.

As a gesture of friendship, the treaty was sadly mistimed. When a belief was general that the "three great western democracies" should and would coöperate to resist the Fascist and Nazi menace, the event would have assumed a real importance in international politics. At the moment, however, Britain under Chamberlain has already surrendered. Hitler will scarcely be given pause, therefore, by anything we may do to help strengthen her.

An Embargo on German Goods

The extraordinary wave of anti-German feeling in this country in the last fortnight has produced many suggestions for boycotts of German goods, either private or public. Thousands of persons, of course, long ago resolved that as individuals they would buy nothing more from a country ruled by people like the Nazis. A public embargo by government order is a more serious matter, and certainly should not be undertaken without full realization of its possible consequences and a willingness to face them. This is true even though a boycott of a nation not at war is less grave than one during wartime, and action by one government is less formidable than by a group of governments. Meanwhile, it is interesting to note that President Roosevelt

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now has the legal power to cut off imports from Germany completely if he so desires, without any new legislation. Section 338 of the present United States Tariff Act gives the President this authority in regard to goods from any country which has been the subject of an official ruling that it discriminates against imports from America. This is already the case with Germany; her discriminatory tactics have caused a ruling under which she is excluded from any most-favored-nation treaties signed by the United States. The law goes even farther and authorizes the President to prohibit the entrance of all goods on German vessels, no matter what their origin. The President has sweeping powers, if he should choose to exercise them.

The King and Queen

We earnestly hope that some way will be found to prevent the visit of the British King and Queen to the United States. This statement of course is no reflection upon their Majesties, for whom we have the utmost respect as individuals. The fact is that the British Tory government is now making frantic efforts to work up the appearance, at least, of a strong Anglo-American friendship, for the benefit that such a seeming friendship may have throughout the world. We do not believe the policies of the Chamberlain government are such as to justify this attitude on our part. Britain's present course seems to us anti-democratic in the highest degree; there can be no gain and there may be great loss if the United States associates itself with it. The visit of the King and Queen is certain to be misinterpreted in England; it may give the Chamberlain government greater public support at home than it deserves. The waters of diplomacy would be muddied in all countries. The visit might be accompanied by disagreeable incidents here which would counteract much of the effect that Downing Street hopes to create. Mr. Chamberlain would be well advised if he were to find that the pressure of momentous affairs of state made it impossible for their Majesties to cross the Atlantic next summer.

A Permanent WPA?

The administration is clearly nervous about the criticism of the WPA. Harry Hopkins warns that it must be a permanent institution to give everyone a job who wants to work, but at the same time points to the desirability of a civil-service status for its executives. In so far as the WPA is abused for political purposes and is used by local authorities for patronage, it is a danger to the ruling administration. Many WPA workers are legitimately dissatisfied with their treatment and will vote against the party in power—as long as the very existence of their jobs is not threatened by a frontal attack on relief by the party out of power. That accounts for some of the differences in the popular vote between 1938 and 1936.

It is also rumored that Mr. Hopkins is to succeed Mr. Roper as Secretary of Commerce, while a business man is to be put in charge of the WPA. That might be clever politics, if the right business man were chosen. The country could be reassured that the executive job was being handled with efficiency, while in the Commerce post business men could deal with someone who really represented the President.

Japan Keeps the Door Closed

The controversy between the United States and Japan about the Nine Power Treaty and the open door in China is obviously a pro-forma debate. We send notes to Japan protesting against her violations of her agreements; she replies denying discrimination against us, but repudiating all her former obligations. Of course the fact is that Japan consciously and effectively knocked the Nine Power Treaty into a cocked hat and closed the open door, and nobody was able to stop her from doing so. Our government is standing on its legal rights, not because we can enforce them at the moment, but because it is after all important for Japan in the long run to regain the good will of the American people and to restore economic coöperation with us. If the present Japanese government does not realize this, some future government may. In the meantime we cannot give away our position for nothing. We may expect this correspondence to continue for a long time without result. It will play a part if ever an Asiatic peace conference is held.

A Hitler Victim Appeals

Our mail these days, like that of many other individuals and organizations in the United States, contains numerous heartbreaking appeals from Europe. These are letters from victims of Nazi brutality, innocent people whose homes and fortunes, even their livelihood, have been taken from them by the uniformed gangsters of the Third Reich.

Characteristic of many of these appeals was a letter received a few days ago which we quote with necessary concealment of identity:

> I have been sent out into the world, with my wife, as an emigrant deprived of money and means. I am a medical student and writer and was for some years a teacher in a large institution in Vienna. I can draw and typewrite and will take any kind of work that would enable me to earn my living. My wife can also draw and typewrite, and is experienced in needlework and tailoring. I am half-Jewish; my wife is a pure Aryan; we have been forced out of Germany for political reasons only, after I had been for some months in prison.
>
> Please do not be offended if we ask for aid. No one who has not experienced it can understand the suffering we have gone through. Is there not some town in the United States that would be willing to take us in, where we could find a little peace and calm to strengthen us for a new struggle for life? Our visas are good only for a short time, and

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unless we can get aid before that, we may have to go back into Germany, that hell, that living death, or perhaps be driven from one frontier to another. Our only remaining hope is the possibility of life in free America.

The author of the letter encloses a testimonial from a former employer who says that this man "fulfilled his duties to the complete satisfaction of the employer, far in excess of what was required of him and may be recommended most sincerely to any employer."

This is a poignant document; we shall be much surprised if it does not strike a responsive chord in the minds of some of our readers. If it does, The New Republic will be glad to act as an intermediary. At the same time, it will be recognized of course that there are many thousands of these victims, and that the problem is not to be solved by haphazard charity in isolated cases. For that matter, it is not to be solved by charity at all. Valuable as the generosity of individuals is, what is really needed is concerted action by the governments of all the great powers in the face of the most dreadful instance of brutality in modern times.

"Films for Democracy"

A non-profit organization was launched the other day. Called "Films for Democracy," its purpose is to produce and distribute motion pictures designed "to safeguard and extend American democracy." This would seem a harmless enterprise even though extremely optimistic, and we were somewhat surprised to find a savage attack upon it in Mr. Martin Quigley's Motion Picture Herald. The Herald doesn't like the enterprise and will have none of it. The movies, this paper says, are for escape from reality—"a door into a world of charm, beauty, fantasy, romance and vicarious adventures." Films for Democracy is charged with trying to "muscle in"—"the project is for the plain larceny of the audience." The article goes on to speak bitterly of "Blockade" and to attack several well known persons who are on the committee for the new organization. Mr. Quigley, we are informed, is a conspicuous lay member of the Catholic Church. If so, he seems to us to belong properly in the "Catholic lunatic fringe," recently discussed in our pages. We cannot believe that the responsible leaders of Catholic thought will care to associate themselves with an attack on an enterprise like Films for Democracy.

The NLRB Favors the A. F. of L.

The Columbia Law Review has just published an article of exceptional interest. In the midst of the heated controversy over the National Labor Relations Board and the Wagner act, a dispute marked by strong emotional bias, the publication of the law school of Columbia University offers its careful analysis of the facts. It finds that the NLRB's policy in the decisions it has so far rendered has favored the A. F. of L. rather than discriminated against it. The CIO has won almost 79 percent of the cases in which the Board has decided jurisdictional disputes between the A. F. of L. and the CIO. But the Columbia Law Review finds the policy of the Board is to give preference to craft units over industrial organization whenever the majority of those within the craft so desire. It has also helped the A. F. of L. by refusing to exclude A. F. of L. unions which have been aided by employers from the ballots in the elections it supervises. These facts leave the editors of the Law Review in doubt as to how much of the violent criticism of the Labor Board by the A. F. of L. has been in earnest and how much is merely a method of applying pressure. They feel certain, however, that amendment of the Labor Relations Act, as proposed by the A. F. of L., to allow judicial review of findings of fact, would prove extremely advantageous to recalcitrant employers and of doubtful value to the A. F. of L.

Hague on The Big Time?

The CIO and the American Civil Liberties Union have asked the United States Supreme Court to take over the case they are fighting against Mayor Hague of Jersey City. Morris Ernst and Spaulding Frazier, who made the motion, argue that the Circuit Court, to which Judge Clark's injunction was appealed, no longer commands public faith in its decisions involving the Mayor; that public suspicion exists over the motives behind the "packing" of the bench by Presiding Judge J. Warren Davis. The public has just as little justification for faith in the New Jersey Court of Errors and Appeals, which, as we pointed out several weeks ago, includes on its bench Hague's former corporation counsel and Hague's campaign manager. The motion is well founded. It is unusual for the Supreme Court to allow cases to "jump" the Circuit Court, but it is not unprecedented.

In Jersey City, meanwhile, another incident has occurred. In direct contempt of the injunction that has recently been signed, placards worn by two pickets in front of the London Clothes Shop in Journal Square were torn from their shoulders by Captain Peter Quail of the Jersey City Police. Quail said the police had refused pickets the privilege of carrying signs for twenty-five years and that no writ ordering a change of policy had been given him. Judge Clark's decision was a smashing victory for the CIO and the ACLU, but at least until the legal process of appeal and reconsideration is ended Mayor Hague, apparently, will remain the boss.

Scientists Aid Spain

A ship recently arrived in Barcelona from America. The S. S. "Erica Reed" bore food and relief supplies for the Spaniards whose plight is so serious that it must touch the heart of everyone throughout the world whose emotions have not been completely poisoned by fascist doctrines. Of particular interest is the fact that

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the ship carried twenty-six pounds of nicotinic acid. Pellagra has become prevalent in Spain, and only a few weeks ago there came the epochal discovery that extremely minute doses of nicotinic acid have a magic power in destroying this disease. (The twenty-six pounds will permit 270,000 individual doses.) The acid went as a gift from thirty-nine leading American scientists, and their message to Dr. Juan Negrín, the Spanish Prime Minister, himself a distinguished scientist and professor of physiology, gives a welcome note of sanity in a mad world. They say:

> An overwhelming majority of scientific workers desire to improve the lot of man. They are keenly disappointed when their work is used for destructive purposes. Therefore, it gives scientific men great pleasure to be able to present this new and beneficial discovery to the harassed people of Spain. . . . Advances of science can bring the greatest health and wealth to man but only where there is freedom of search and action. Scientific men will be ever grateful to the Spanish people for their heroic stand against the invaders of their country and against the enemies of a free democracy.

Jim Crow Education

Hardly a better worn political axiom exists than this: Democracy depends, for its successful working, upon the education of the electorate. Nevertheless most of us, while deeply stirred by the failures of democratic governments in Europe, overlook a primary source of weakness in the United States. Nine million Negro citizens, for the most part residents of nineteen Southern and border states, are being deprived of the sort of education which will make them competent voters. In these states and in the District of Columbia, where four-fifths of all the Negroes in America reside, Negroes are required by law to attend separate schools. The adults there have remained uneducated and they must send their children to the same inadequate, Jim Crow schools. Whether funds are appropriated by federal, state or county treasuries the result is the same. The Negro schools must get along with poor equipment, shorter terms and more badly paid teachers. The effect of unequal educational opportunity is to lower the whole standard of the Negro family's life. Its earning power is reduced and the frequency of disease, immorality and juvenile delinquency increased. The protests made to the local boards of education are disregarded. Since 80 percent of the Negroes are disfranchised at the polls by intimidation or impossible qualifications, they cannot vote an improvement in their plight. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, 69 Fifth Avenue, New York City, is one of the few groups that are making the fight. It has won several test cases where Negroes have been refused admission to Southern state colleges or professional schools. It is preparing campaigns against all the other obstacles to decent Negro education. If it is to make a successful fight, the NAACP must have all the support we can give.

Senator Wagner Is a Methodist

Our sincere apologies to United States Senator Robert Wagner of New York, to whom we referred editorially last week as a member of the Catholic Church. Senator Wagner is of course a Methodist.

News Notes of a Week

In France Premier Daladier's fifty-eight decrees, designed to revitalize the national economy, met with stern criticism from many elements of the population. The new measures increase indirect taxes on many consumer goods, raise the income-tax rate and provide for governmental economies. The principal target of protest, however, is the lengthening of the work week which marks the loss of one of the Popular Front's chief advances. . . . Almost immediately after the death of Turkey's famous and dictatorial ruler, Kemel Ataturk, the Turkish National Assembly placed the presidency in the hands of General Ismet Inonu, former Chief of Staff and an important aid in the work of building the new Turkey. . . . In Spain the major campaign which has been raging along the banks of the Ebro River seemed to end with the capture, by Franco's forces, of the left bank, a return to the position they held last July. The Loyalists, however, counted the campaign a success, for by creating a distraction they had halted the Insurgent drive upon Valencia. . . . From all the frontier areas of Czechoslovakia came reports of rioting and disorder caused by popular discontent over the surrender of territory to other powers. The fighting was especially severe in the Ruthenian district, where Polish terrorists, supported by a campaign of radio propaganda from Budapest, were at work. In Berlin detailed plans were released for the construction of a great motor highway and canal to connect upper Germany with Austria through the center of Czechoslovakia.

In the United States there were further indications that a gigantic naval-building program may shortly begin. The Navy Department rushed its efforts to increase navy-yard facilities to a capacity, if necessary, large enough to build eighty new ships. . . . In Pittsburgh the general executive board of the United Automobile Workers of America voted to abolish the Detroit District Council, characterized by Homer Martin, the union's president, as being Communist-dominated. . . . Organized labor in Oregon prepared a court fight against an initiative measure, passed by a narrow margin in the recent election, which prohibits strikes except by a majority of a company's employees in a direct dispute over wages, hours and working conditions, requires a strict accounting of union funds and prevents union interference with any lawful commercial, manufacturing or farming enterprise.

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The Refugee Puzzle

IN SPITE OF THE FACT that the Western non-Fascist nations have expressed more horror about the treatment of Jews and other minorities in Germany than about any other event in recent years, it appears to be almost as difficult as ever to find any country willing to receive the refugees. According to press dispatches, the matter is under serious discussion and some solution may be offered, but so far the suggestions have been curiously lacking in feasibility.

It is proposed, for instance, to settle a large number in Guiana, a region directly under the equator where white men hitherto have been unable to live. Or colonies in Africa or Alaska are discussed. The world is generous in offering space in remote places—the remoter the better. But the natural outlets for people accustomed to modern civilization seem closed, or nearly so. Not many more Jews can go to Palestine without bloody warfare against the Arabs. Few countries have consented to open their doors except to agricultural pioneers. Even in the United States, the President with all his sympathy does not appear to think it politically practical to suggest an enlargement of quotas or even a readjustment of existing ones.

We have been losing more people by emigration from our shores than we have been gaining by immigration ever since the start of the great depression. The present maximum quota from Germany and Austria combined is only about 27,000 annually—a number which is microscopic in comparison with our population of over 130,000,000. Yet not only is there no serious intention to increase this quota, but actual trepidation on the part of many in admitting as many refugees as we now legally can. One would think that we might let in the entire 500,000 remaining Jewish population of Germany in a single year without serious dislocation—it would be equivalent to an increase only of about four-tenths of one percent in our existing population. Of course no such proposal is seriously made, but it is an indication of the contrast between expressions of sympathy and willingness to extend actual help.

What is the reason for this ironic and tragic contrast? Some might attribute it to anti-Jewish prejudice in every country, and let it go at that. But such an explanation does not explain. There is anti-Jewish prejudice, to be sure, but not enough to prevent millions of people from feeling strong pity for the plight of the victims of Nazism. It would also be possible to analyze the sympathy itself in terms of modern psychology. There is a masochistic type of pity which merely enjoys feeling the woes of the oppressed or the unfortunate but actually is reluctant to do anything effective to ameliorate the plight of the victims—since that would end the possibility of luxuriating in the sorrows of others. We have all known people who feel this way in their personal relationships; it is sometimes expressed in social terms by the type of philanthropy which wants to keep the poor in their place so that the more fortunate may enjoy the privilege of giving. Another aspect of false pity, more germane to the present instance, is that which is used mainly to express anger at the oppressor. We have to sympathize with the victim in order to maintain our rage at the common enemy, but we are really far more interested in punishing the guilty than in succoring his victims. Such emotions are not unknown in domestic social conflicts.

Whatever may be the psychological mechanism, however, it is activated in this case by the world economic situation. Why were the persecutions against Jews made possible in civilized Germany? A large part of the answer may be found in the fact that in successive inflation and depression the Jews offered keen competition for jobs and for business in the spheres where opportunities were scarce. The recent pogrom is attributed by many to a well calculated plan, the murder of a German diplomat being merely the occasion. This plan, it is believed, rested on the desire of the Nazi government to levy on the wealth of the Jews at a time when revenues for rearmament were scanty. Economic motives also operate in the countries to which the Jews must go if they are to have opportunities for which they are trained. We have a surplus of doctors, lawyers, teachers, merchants, bankers, carpenters, painters, clothing workers. The same is true in nearly every other country. People who sympathize with the Jews in Germany are not willing to endanger their own jobs and economic opportunities in order to help them.

Few of us understand what a difference there is between this attitude and that of the nineteenth century and earlier. Then it was assumed that there was an opportunity for everybody, especially in the more sparsely settled regions of the world; many nations actually desired immigration instead of discouraging it. The more people, the better. The faster the population grew, the more prosperous everyone would be. We still see a survival of this attitude in the population rivalry of our cities. What has caused the change? Obviously it is, basically, a change from an expanding economic order to a contracting one. When production, employment and economic opportunity decline, racial prejudice gains intensity, every latent conflict is exacerbated and democracy itself is in danger. Though we cannot wait for a new and expanding economic system in order to help the Jews, the affair has a cogent lesson for us. Fascism, Nazism and their terrors are not just wicked ideas, in the minds of foreigners, against which we can protect ourselves by armor. They are weeds that may grow anywhere in the sour soil of a declining economy. We, in effect, abet Hitler's persecution of the Jews because we are suffering from the same symptoms, both psychological and economic, that have plagued the German people.

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Rearming the British

REPEATEDLY in the last few weeks the Roosevelt administration has emphasized its interest in the problems of Latin America. The President and several of his important aides have made speeches indicating our firm intention to keep European or Asiatic fascism out of this hemisphere at whatever cost. It is indicated that this determination is now the very heart of our foreign policy, which contemplates an increasing degree of isolation from entanglements in Europe and probably in Asia as well.

At present, the most important opponent of American foreign policy is Prime Minister Chamberlain of Great Britain. As we pointed out last week, he is taking action which if successful will negate our attitude toward Latin America and do a great deal to make fascism triumphant all the way from the Rio Grande to Patagonia. Chamberlain, who has long been the wholehearted ally of Germany and Italy in their effort to strangle the Loyalist government in Spain, is now about to take the final step. He will soon grant belligerent rights to Franco and will be followed in this by the pathetically weak French government, whose only desire is to cling to the British coattails. The Spanish Loyalists will then be blockaded by sea and by land, in the attempt to starve them into submission—an attempt which would have a good chance of success.

If the Fascists win in Spain, there is little chance of our preventing their coming into ascendancy in Latin America. Spain has always wielded tremendous influence over our southern neighbors. There is already a large and active Franco party in almost every one of these twenty-one countries. Its influence is supplemented by direct economic and cultural penetration by Germany and Italy. Both these countries broadcast daily by short wave, or by getting time on South American stations. They flood the inhabitants with books, pamphlets and newspaper propaganda. They sell arms and munitions at such low prices that unsubsidized armament makers cannot compete. They have sent military missions to several countries to help train their soldiers on the fascist pattern.

All this being true, it becomes a matter of some concern that the United States should at present be playing a part in the British armament program. That our part is indeed a great one is shown by these statistics. In October, Great Britain bought from us airplanes and propellers to the value of more than $800,000. She is also buying large quantities of other products which are used directly or indirectly for military purposes, including automobiles and parts, machine tools and other machinery, valuable raw materials, etc. A few figures will show the size of this trade. In the first nine months of this year, we sent Great Britain arms and ammunition to the value of about $5,500,000; gasoline and oil, about $50,000,000; machine tools, about $10,000,000; iron ore and scrap, $15,000,000; wood and wooden products, nearly $14,000,000; sulphur, $1,500,000; non-ferrous metalliferous ores, $3,500,000.

Laying aside all other considerations, there would be a question as to the wisdom of these large exports at the present time. We are ourselves embarking upon an ambitious armament program, particularly as regards airplanes. Our manufacturing facilities, while large, are limited, and factories used for British orders cannot be used for our own. There is always a question about exporting valuable raw materials from a dwindling supply. Several other countries have already put into effect embargoes on such exports. There is the further fact that Great Britain is paying for these exports with gold. In October she sent us this metal to the value of about $377,000,000. We already have gold to the value of nearly $13,000,000,000, a great part of which is buried in the ground. We don't need as much as we have; and to receive more creates the danger of inflation.

Because Great Britain is paying with gold, control of this trade is entirely in our hands; not even congressional action is necessary. The American treasury has complete authority over imports and exports of gold; Secretary Morgenthau with a stroke of the pen can say how much of this metal shall come into the United States. If he were to put an embargo on the import of British gold, the present trade would be seriously embarrassed.

If there were a really democratic government in England, or if the present government would alter its foreign policy, then certainly the old considerations of friendship and coöperation ought to prevail. At present, however, we can only face the facts. After Manchuria, after two years of Spain and above all, after Munich, it is entirely legitimate to ask whether Great Britain is really aligned with our friends or with our enemies, and whether we should help her to grow stronger.

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The Axis Over Spain

ITALIAN AND GERMAN BUSINESS have established themselves so strongly in Spain that their governments cannot afford to withdraw. Spain has become a necessary source of raw materials and a fruitful field of commercial development for these two states. This situation constitutes true colonial hegemony, just as much as the activities of the British East India Company in the eighteenth century and those of Cecil Rhodes in the nineteenth.

Under such circumstances, talk about the allies of Franco "getting out of" Spain because Mussolini concludes pacts with British diplomats appears absurd. During my recent visit to Rome, I was continually assured by representatives of democratic nations—always eager to grasp at any suggestion of "peace"—that the Italians would surely withdraw from Spain once Franco had conquered the country. But in Milan, the business center of the country, I found *Realpolitik* more thoroughly understood. In the industrial north, they make no bones about the penetration of Italian business in Spain nor of the profits which they hope to reap if Franco wins. Whatever the strategic advantages which the Italians and Germans may win by a Franco victory—and they are indeed great—the economic winnings would provide just as strong an anchor. The economic drive of Italy and Germany in Spain is increasing at a momentum which cannot easily be stopped.

This economic drive, as a matter of fact, began before the Spanish war broke out. In 1934, a consortium of Italian and German industrialists sent an engineer, a mineral expert, to explore the subsoil riches of the Iberian Peninsula. After rendering reports of his findings, particularly on tungsten and lignite (the latter with a view to making liquid fuel for airplanes and submarines), he left, several months before the rising of the generals. After the rising, however, the work he had started continued. German and Italian business accompanied the victorious advance of the Fascists, like camp-followers.

The rebellion started in Spanish Morocco. So did the German conquest of raw materials. Here before the World War, the German firm of Mannesmann had obtained iron-ore concessions, thereby provoking the famous Tangier war scare. These interests, liquidated after the World War, now returned. Franco assumed control over all mines in Spanish Morocco and a new German firm of Hisma-Rowak took charge of exports from these mines. Since Franco speedily ran into Germany's debt for arms furnished him, iron ore was shipped from Morocco to Hamburg to pay these debts. Output of these mines, which had stood at only 70,000 tons a month, on the average, before the Spanish war, jumped to 130,000 under Hisma-Rowak.

As Franco's troops moved north in the Peninsula, aided by German and Italian planes, the rich Rio Tinto copper and pyrite mines fell into their hands. British interests owned these mines and, during the Frente Popular government in the months preceding the war, their managers encountered much labor difficulty, strikes, etc. Franco's troops put a stop to this so successfully that in the following spring Sir Auckland Geddes, the Rio Tinto chairman, in his annual stockholders' meeting could rejoice at the "improvement" in labor conditions. He could not, however, rejoice at the disposition of the output. The London Daily Telegraph described the plight of Rio Tinto under Franco: "(a) The British company could not sell its copper pyrites where it desired. Large quantities of copper and pyrites went to Germany. (b) The British clients found themselves cut off from their source of supply. (c) The only compensation was in pesetas, for which the company had no use." Farther north, the Italians entered the race. Italy, before the war, had controlled the mercury market of the world in conjunction with Spain, whose Almaden mines are the richest in the world. Italian forces now tried to capture Almaden as a prelude to lodging this control solely in Rome. They were repulsed, as were also the Loyalists who tried to retrieve the Peñarroya lead and coal mines, owned by the French Rothschild interests.

Franco, it now seemed apparent, was making the richest raw-material regions of Spain his chief objectives. He launched his drive on Bilbao in the spring of 1937 largely to obtain the iron mines in that sector. Correspondents who were in Spain at that time have told me that they were surprised when the Bilbao offensive began. They had expected that Franco would direct his next effort on the Aragon front, in order to split Catalonia from the rest of Loyalist territory. Military strategists considered this the obvious objective. Besides, the Loyalist forces were especially weak here. The Germans and Italians, however, influenced Franco to postpone this important drive for a whole year. They wanted the capture of the rich mineral region in the north immediately as their armament programs urgently required more raw materials. As the rebel army rolled back the Basques, Hitler told a Wurzberg audience that he wanted a Franco victory so as to get iron ore.

But here he clashed with the British. British industry gets more than one-third of its imports of iron ore from Spain, and most of these from Bilbao. In this region, the British firms, Consett Iron and Guest, Keen and Nettlefolds, own the controlling shares of the Orconera Company, the largest mining corporation in northern Spain. Franco's drive now threatened to inter-

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fere seriously with the British rearmament program, which depended to a large extent on Bilbao ore. The British ruling and financial classes, which had hitherto favored the Rebels, now took alarm.

The Daily Express on July 7, 1937, expressed fear that Germany would take all this Bilbao iron "in the same way as the iron ore from the Riff mines in Morocco was sent to Germany and Italy instead of Britain." Consett shares dropped from 17/ to 13/ and Guest, Keen and Nettlefolds from 37/6 to 34/. The latter firm, apprehensive of the future, placed an order in Newfoundland for 400,000 tons to replace Spanish imports. Classes in Britain which had remained indifferent to the bombing of Madrid now responded in horror to the reports of Guernica's destruction. But not for long.

The skies began to clear soon after the Franco conquest of Bilbao. The British government then hastened to send a "commercial agent" to Franco's government. Was this step influenced by the big commercial interests involved? At any rate, some arrangement was made with Franco, for iron ore continued to flow to Britain from Bilbao. In fact, exports of iron ore from North Spain to Britain have actually increased since the capture of Bilbao. No wonder then that the British government, as if in return for this favor, played Franco's game even more actively in the Non-Intervention Committee. No wonder that the news of Franco atrocities faded out of the conservative sections of the London press.

Had Franco double-crossed Germany? Let us see. Under Franco, the Bilbao iron mines have stepped up their output substantially. According to figures in the Bilbao Boletin Minero y Industrial for January, 1938, the export of iron from Bilbao rose from 5,000 tons in August, 1937, right after the conquest, to 90,000 in September, 141,000 in October, falling to 99,000 in November, to rebound to 153,000 in December. Yet the average in the three preceding years did not pass 90,000. And the increase more than covered the British purchases. Somebody was getting the rest. The same journal gives the answer, "We are able to report the sale of various lots of washed minerals, some of relative importance for consumption in Germany, and certain mines have already allocated all their production for the present year (1938)." In December, 1937, about 35,000 tons of shipping left Basque ports for Germany. Quite evidently the reports that Britain and Germany had made a deal to share the Bilbao iron had foundation.

But Germany has forged ahead in other lines than minerals. According to The Financial News of London, the Germans were starting an important textile center in Andalusia; the company, Filatures y Tejidos Andaluses, would commence production in the fall. They have also started an artificial-fiber industry and in Tetuan, in Spanish Morocco, they are building several tobacco factories. Recently it was reported that a German firm had obtained the contract for modernizing the port of Pasajes and that a Hamburg shipping firm had established a branch office there. Nor should one overlook the important network of commercial aviation lines which Germany has spread over Spain, connecting Salamanca, Vitoria, Saragossa, Seville and Tetuan.

While Germany has been making such great strides, Italy has not lagged behind. In Milan I found business men rubbing their hands over the dividends they had already received and the future profits they expected as a result of Mussolini's war in Spain (not without, however, some explanations that Italy had to fight in Spain to prevent the spread of Bolshevism). Italy's imports of Spanish iron ore jumped from 33,000 tons in 1936 to 180,000 in 1937; scrap was up from 327,000 to 500,000 tons. Manganese also rose from 23,000 to 75,000. Italian official figures showed that Italy in 1937 got 22,000 tons of Sir Auckland's pyrites.

In Milan, Italians told me of building contractors and manufacturers who had enjoyed a big business in Spain since the war began. Senator Agniello, the Fiat magnate, Snia Viscosa (rayon) and Pirelli (rubber) have all entered into the game with heavy participations, I was informed. One manufacturer of cast-iron products complained that the Bilbao hematite ore was not suitable for his use, but said that steel and munitions manufacturers were employing it. The Agenzia Economica e Finanziaria announced in its number of April 12 the formation of the Intercambio Spagna, S. A., an organization to promote financial and commercial coöperation between the government and industrialists in enterprises in Spain. Most important of all, however, is the new Italo-Spanish Bank, with headquarters in Rome. I learned that this had been organized along lines identical with those of the Italo-Albanian Bank which has done so much to promote the development and political subjugation of the Italian protectorate across the Adriatic. Officials and personnel of the Italo-Albanian Bank have been transferred to the Italo-Spanish Bank. (Is there any connection between this and the appointment of the new Vatican chargé d'affaires to Salamanca, Antoniutti, who had held a similar post in Albania?)

According to some sources in Rome, the Italians have made even greater progress in staffing the administrative hierarchy of the Franco government. One well informed person in Rome asserted that the internal administration of the Rebel regime now lay entirely in Italian hands. Italians have also organized the police system and have sent numerous carabinieri to Spain. That sinister figure, Bocchini, the head of the Italian police system, has made at least one trip to Spain, and his presence there suggests that the Ovra will work in this field much as the German Gestapo

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has worked in Central Europe to consolidate political hegemony.

German or Italian, which is winning in this race in Spain? Opinions differ. One observer in Rome felt that, while Italian business interests would continue to increase, Italian influence would prevail in the administration of the Franco government, German influence in the Franco business world. The Financial News of London also believes that Germany will hold the lead in the economic field. German firms, this paper says, have repeatedly underbid Italian for Franco business. On the other hand, I have heard that Hitler now feels inclined to leave Spain to Italian exploitation and limit German economic activities to Spanish Morocco. Hitler, according to this view, favors Mannesmann and Roechling, rather than Krupp. Krupp is interested in Bilbao ore, Mannesmann and Roechling in Moroccan mines. Be that as it may. One step, however, seems to have been taken to bring harmony into this situation. According to the Frankfurter Zeitung, German and Italian industrialists held a meeting at Heidelberg early last winter. Rome reports that among the questions they considered was Spain and that a provisional arrangement for reconciling the two competitive forces was reached.

Against this Italo-German attack, British and French interests have been waging a varied struggle. I heard so many responsible persons in Rome and Milan affirm that British business interests have been lending money to Franco that I have come to believe it. Apparently, British business like the British government is trying to conciliate Franco. They think he is going to win and are making preparations accordingly.

The French, however, have taken a different tack. French business interests have tried to play ball with the Italian interests, whom they apparently deem the real rulers of Rebel Spain. Take the French Rothschild interests, for instance. They own the Peñarroya mining company in Rebel Spain, the Portusola lead mines in Sardinia and have been interested in mercury mines in Spain. Do they hope to get a slice of Almaden, if the Rebels win? It looks that way, for these French interests have been working with the Italian mercury interests to defeat the Loyalist mercury sales force in the world market. It is understood that they have met with some success. The marketing of mercury, it is said, is a complicated affair and the Loyalists apparently lack experience. In pyrites, too, the French have turned to the Italians. Franco cut off exports to France, hoping to force France to recognize him. French interests, which badly need pyrites for the rearmament program, turned to Italian interests, which had been getting the Spanish pyrites denied to France. French and Italian interests interlock at many points; for instance Peñarroya has an Italian, Count Valperga, on its board, and the Banca Commerciale Italiana is jointly interested with French banks in South America. Montecatini, the great Italian chemical trust, came to the rescue and exported about 50,000 tons of pyrites to France in 1937. Montecatini, incidentally, has a Frenchman, M. Paul-Ernest Picard, formerly of the Bank of France, on its board of directors. But early this year, the Italian government intervened and forbade the export of pyrites. Now the French, through their chargé in Rome, M. Blondel, have appealed directly to the government.

If Franco should win, then, he would presumably have to choose among these various conflicting elements. But would he, as British Conservatives so comfortably assume, oust the Germans and Italians in favor of the British and French? The above survey of the intensive penetration certainly suggests that Franco would thereby face a big task. The Financial News estimated in January that Italy has spent 2,500,000,000 lira and Germany 800,000,000 Reichsmarks on their Spanish investment. However well Franco is paying this off, a considerable balance must remain and it seems ridiculous to suppose that Germany and Italy would write this off. Moreover, there remains the matter of Italian troops, estimated now at 50,000. When I was in Rome, most foreign correspondents insisted that Italy would withdraw her troops after the war. But the shrewdest of these foreign observers admitted that he did not see how Italy could withdraw these troops until "she got what she wanted."

The British Conservatives, however, feel confident that Franco will have to turn to the City for financial support if he wins. In Milan, I found Italians skeptical of this view. They said that while Franco has contracted a large debt to Germany and Italy, he is steadily reducing it by payments of raw materials and the balance of the debt is not high enough to force him to seek London's aid. Furthermore, they expect him to maintain a closed economic system similar to those of Germany and Italy. A dictator, under such a system, does not worry much about the supply of banking credit. True, Franco has no gold. But he can easily acquire it. Spain, like Germany, is a great exporting country. But unlike Germany, Spain exports raw materials, and raw materials now enjoy a seller's market. Through these exports, Franco could get gold or accumulate large foreign-exchange balances. In fact, one might forecast an alliance of three closed economies—Germany, Italy and Spain—with Spain providing the raw materials which the others lack. This is a vision which may well alarm the liberal, open-economy capitalisms, whose scope has been slowly contracting. It is a vision, moreover, which—were they not purblind with fear of "Bolshevism"—might make the capitalists of these countries see that they would stand a better chance of salvaging their property in Spain under the Loyalists than under Franco.

FRANK C. HANIGHEN

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The CIO Comes of Age

This is a historic meeting. The first constitutional convention of the Committee for Industrial Organization, now the Congress of Industrial Organizations, is bound to be a bold-face subhead in the textbooks of the American labor movement. Three years ago there was only the idea in the minds of a few men, a small committee of eight union presidents who believed that by industrial organization the millions of workers in the mass-production industries could be brought the benefits of union membership. Their associates in the A. F. of L. were skeptical. "This is foolhardy," they said. "The unskilled workers aren't material for unionism. Your ideas are impractical. It can't be done."

The answer is here in the Grotto, the bulky convention hall in Pittsburgh's North End, where the smoke from the mills darkens the sky on all but the windiest days. Around the forty wooden tables on the floor of the hall sit representatives of more than four million CIO members. And of this total, three million have joined in the past two and one-half years, three million union members whom the A. F. of L. did not know how to approach. On the wide platform, with a huge American flag as its only decoration, sits the leadership. John Lewis is there, gruff and deliberate, smoking a long cigar. His huge head of hair, like the buffer on a tugboat's prow, is almost gray. And he smiles and laughs a great deal, always with a little reluctance, as though he felt humor ought not to be part of labor's most militant leader. Philip Murray sits at the chairman's desk, white-haired and genial, keeping things in order, and close beside him, in the crowd of dignitaries, are Sidney Hillman, John Brophy, Lee Pressman, the CIO's brilliant young counsel, and James Carey. The delegates have tremendous personal devotion for these men and the rest of the leadership. Lewis, of course, gets the most. When the account of the Committee on Officers' Reports was concluded with a salute to him, the convention went wild. For fourteen minutes the delegates stood and bellowed approval of their chairman. And when the tumult had finally died down, Lewis thanked the membership with masterful modesty: ". . . I am rather surprised at this demonstration. Don't you know you are applauding a dictator? Don't you know that the CIO is merely a dictatorship, and that the chairman of it set himself up in office without your will and contrary to your desires? That must be true, because I read it in the papers as late as yesterday; and if it is in the papers it must be true. . . ."

The first job of the convention was to adopt a constitution, to solidify the CIO into a permanent, formal organization. It did so in short order, with minimum confusion. The structure of the new Congress of Industrial Organizations is extremely loose. It is a federation of national and international unions, organizing committees, local industrial unions and industrial-union councils, bound together by a national executive board. The board, composed of one member from each affiliate together with the CIO's national officers, issues rules governing the conduct, activities and affairs of the locals. But its responsibility, and the supreme authority of the CIO, is in the annual convention to which each affiliate sends one delegate or more, according to the size of its membership, up to a maximum of ten.

The rank and file has an enormous faith in the wisdom and ability of its important leaders. Those who despise the CIO and are anxious to brand it as a dictatorship will seize upon a large amount of direction from the national executives to the locals as evidence of strong-arm domination. Furthermore, it is obvious that a few unions, the Mine Workers, the Steel Workers, the Textile Workers and the Automobile Workers, because of their size, will have the largest voice in the way things are run. These facts do not constitute dictatorship. When you see on every side and hear from everybody in Pittsburgh such deep devotion to the idea that the CIO must be an industrial democracy and when you know that the new constitution goes as far as it can to make it a fact, there remains very little room for nervous skepticism.

In the distorted reports which newspapermen sent to the dailies (including, I am sorry to say, even Louis Stark of The New York Times) a great deal was made of the "left-wing crisis" which occurred on the convention's second day. The theory was that a disgruntled faction, led by Harry Bridges, was trying to "have a convention rule changed"; that Lewis had stamped out the "revolt" with a forceful threat or two. No doubt these reports please those who would like to believe there is no democracy within the CIO; that serious disaffection exists and that internal wrangles, now evident, will ultimately bring its downfall. Some day this may happen. There is no inkling of it now. The "left-wing revolt" was a spontaneous outbreak of complaint over the fact that printed copies of the proposed constitution were not available to the delegates when the voting upon it began. The complaints were justified. Overnight a printer was found who could handle the large rush order. By morning the problem was solved.

Peace within the labor movement is the chief topic of discussion. Everybody is for peace, yet no one expects it to come within as short a time as a year. Paradoxically, this convention, setting up a strong, permanent competitor to the A. F. of L., is regarded as a long step in the direction of their future consolidation. Every-

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one is in favor of peace, but it must not be a peace which destroys in any way the principle of industrial organization. The split in the labor movement is lamentable, but during the time the CIO has watched the A. F. of L. make faces at it, organized labor in the United States has doubled its size and increased its power manyfold. A conciliation today, given the furious, inept leadership of the A. F. of L., would have to mean some sacrificing of the principle of industrial organization. Certain big unions would be expected to break down into many little ones, weakened and conflicting. The CIO leadership won't have this happen. As Mr. Carey put it, "The CIO wants peace without pieces."

So the intention of the CIO is to ignore, for the time being, the stubborn demands of the A. F. of L.'s executives. The CIO will go about its business, continue the organizing work which has brought such amazing growth and will plunge into new fields, such as the agricultural workers in the South, where there is so much to do and, as yet, so little has been done. The CIO does not need a humiliating peace. The bargaining power is already on its side and, as the A. F. of L. should realize, the future is likely to strengthen its position.

Very little is said on the convention floor about the results of the national elections. But I gather there is little pessimism. CIO candidates were defeated, some of them in crucial elections, but without exception the issues were clouded or the circumstances mitigating. Murphy's defeat was the worst blow. The union members, however, remember how very narrow was his margin of victory in 1936 and they know about the lavish sums of money the conservatives poured into Michigan in their successful efforts to beat him. Earle's shady record and the viciousness of the Pennsylvania primaries account in part for his beating. Even so, had the Democratic machine here supported Lieutenant-Governor Kennedy, the CIO's favorite son, the outcome might have been quite different.

The elections were sobering. They showed again the strength of wealth and the political power of its spokesmen. At the same time they exposed the real natures of some "friends" who must be distrusted in the future; they cleared the decks for the battle that will come in 1940.

William Green came down with demoniacal fury upon the membership figure of 4,037,877, contained in Lewis' first-day report to the convention. He called it fraudulent, in that it included both dues-paying and non-dues-paying members, and said he knew the figures were ridiculously padded as well. There was no fraud. The report stated clearly that all members were included and Mr. Green knew it as well as anybody else. The total figure does include some padding; at the most, however, not more than 10 percent. What exaggeration there is comes in the reports of the smaller unions, which seldom have accurate, up-to-date figures and are naturally inclined to optimism. I believe Mr. Lewis made a mistake in not breaking down the total-receipts figure of $3,540,385 into its component contributions. He failed to do this, apparently, to conceal the fact that nearly two-thirds of the money came from the United Mine Workers. He thought it would exaggerate the importance of the UMW in the CIO and spoil the picture of a coöperating, mass organization. If the facts had been stated, I should think they would have received but little attention. But the aura of mystery has led to gossip, speculation and false accusation.

David Dubinsky and his dramatic withdrawal of the ILGWU's 250,000 members on the eve of the convention have been completely ignored. For a year or more the CIO has not counted Mr. Dubinsky as one of the flock. And the silent treatment of his attempt to show the CIO as a crumbling, disorganized body proved effective. No one was fooled except the editors of The Chicago Tribune. There is no mention, either, of the problem of the Communists within the CIO. Tacitly everyone is agreed that the best way to treat them is to give them enough rope. In time those who may be disrupters will discredit themselves.

I was particularly taken by the plans Len De Caux outlined for the CIO press. The weekly CIO News is already an able job, as it has to be to maintain its circulation of 750,000. That is not enough, however, when you consider the size of the labor movement and the power of the anti-labor press. The CIO News is informative and alert, but it preaches to, and reaches, only the saved. There is enough enthusiasm within the CIO alone to support a labor press which will fill the needs being served, at present, only by the other side. Labor should have a daily paper of its own, a Trade Unionist's Life, Collier's and Woman's Home Companion. And these ideas, in wraithlike form, are in the heads of the CIO's publicity department.

Two general impressions of the convention stand out: its youth and its enthusiasm. In comparison with the A. F. of L.'s Houston meeting, these excited delegates are, in appearance, mere babes. Youth is not confined to the rank-and-file delegates by any means. On the platform, outstanding among the leaders, is James Carey, president for years of the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers, and still not quite twenty-seven. Lee Pressman and Joe Curran are not so very much older. The enthusiasm of these delegates, young and old, is terrific. They applaud and whistle and cheer like freshmen at a Big Game rally. Before they would let their friend, Josephine Roche, begin her speech they shouted for two full minutes while she stood in embarrassed pleasure, begging them to stop. When the nomination of John Lewis for president of the Congress of Industrial Organization came, on the final day, the Grotto's walls could barely contain the thunder. And who can blame them?

Pittsburgh BRUCE BLIVEN JR.

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The Catholic Church in Politics

III: *Censorship by the Church (Continued)*

THE VAST, well oiled machine of Catholic Action has encouraged censors everywhere. Lately its campaign has spread to magazines. Catholic dioceses all over the United States have been instructed to appoint representatives to work with the National Bureau of Publicity and Information set up by the National Catholic Welfare Conference to check up on secular publications and report any anti-Catholic bias in any publication. A delegation then visits the publisher of the offending magazine and an attempt is made either to correct the statement or "to silence it in the future."

The Catholic Press Association in conference in New Orleans last May resolved to take upon itself the task "of combating error and indecency in every form" for non-Catholic as well as Catholic America. An ultimatum was issued in a number of cities to publishers, vendors and advertisers of "obscene" magazines to "clean up or fold up." News and book dealers were asked to take the pledge not to buy or sell magazines on the Catholic "banned list." This list carries the names of about 125 of the 600 magazines published or distributed in the United States. A "Crusade" placard is displayed in stands or stores taking the pledge.

In Boston, the Massachusetts State Council of the Knights of Columbus, assured of the solid support of the Catholic hierarchy of the state, is in charge of the campaign. A resolution adopted by the Council condemned the sale and distribution of magazines which contained "Communistic propaganda" as well as obscene matter. In outlining the fight, State Deputy Patrick J. Moynihan of the Knights of Columbus said: "At the convention during an executive session, the names of at least a dozen magazines with nationwide distribution were 'blacklisted.' The magazines, we have learned from authoritative sources, employ known Communist writers and anti-Catholics who are attempting to destroy the morals of youth through filthy writings. It will be our aim to boycott these periodicals through our huge membership and also threaten a general boycott against dealers who handle the distribution or sale of the blacklisted magazines."

In Rhode Island the crusade against the "Devil's Press" started in The Providence Visitor, with the endorsement of the Bishop of Providence. Pledge cards were distributed by parish priests and signed by thousands of persons vowing not to buy or read the banned magazines. Newsstand and other magazine dealers were seen and "advised" not to handle these magazines. At the same time a postcard campaign to advertisers was conducted. The obscenity campaign was extended to include articles politically objectionable. The campaign spread from Providence to Albany (where ninety newsdealers are reported to have signed up) and other cities.

In New York where the campaign is not yet officially in full swing but where the Knights of Columbus are endeavoring to arouse public interest in it, City College Monthly, an undergraduate literary magazine, has come under the ban. Sale of the magazine was stopped by order of the Dean upon complaint of the Very Reverend William R. McCann, pastor of the Roman Catholic Church of St. Charles Borromeo, that the magazine contained insulting references to Catholic nuns in the South. Monsignor McCann in a sermon in St. Patrick's Cathedral called upon his audience "not to stand idly by as those things most sacred to us are attacked." At New York University the suppression of an editorial in The School of Comerce Bulletin, at the instance of the hierarchy, was defended by Chancellor Harry W. Chase on the ground that the ban was necessitated by standards of "good taste." The editorial dealt with a talk in opposition to birth control by the late Cardinal Hayes.

In Catholic Boston the theatre is censored by a public board; motion pictures displayed on Sundays are censored by state police; the sale of books is censored by the trade through threat of prosecution under an untested law; the sale of magazines on newsstands is controlled by an arbitrary police censorship. This censorship committee, composed of Police Commissioner Timilty, two police captains and a clerk, requires the magazine distributors to submit to them copies of all magazines which may be regarded as questionable. The committee undertakes to determine what is obscene and prevents distribution, though Police Commissioner Timilty when challenged admitted he had no legal power. Forty-nine magazines have been banned. Apparently not satisfied with this progress, Judge Thomas F. Quinn of the Natick Court, in an address before the Diocesan Congress of Catholic Women, urged that "more attention be given to discouraging certain types of articles in magazines which have large circulation which under the name of frankness or health bring to current and public discussion common or profligate types which have no place in good homes."

Turning to the radio, we find Catholic censorship in full operation over the Mae West broadcast of "Adam and Eve." This travesty on the Garden of Eden aroused public comment and some indignation, but to the Catholics it was a call to arms. The Reverend Maurice S. Sheehy of the Catholic University is credited with marshaling the forces of the Catholic press

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and Catholic organizations, assisted by Gordon O'Neill, editor of The San Francisco Monitor, Vincent DePaul Fitzpatrick of The Baltimore Catholic Review, president of the Catholic Press Association, and Father John S. Kennedy of The Hartford Transcript. The editors of The Brooklyn Tablet were also on the job.

"The organs of the Catholic Press," Father Sheehy explained, "were one in their protests. Every Catholic paper trimmed its decks for a battle. So instantaneous and overwhelming was the reaction against the program that apologies were forthcoming within four days both from the advertising sponsors and the broadcasting company. . . . The sponsors, when protests came fast and furious, shifted all responsibility to their advertising representatives, who both accepted the responsibility and took steps to check more carefully radio scripts over which they have control." Meanwhile the Federal Communications Commission, through Chairman McNinch, called for the script and the electrical transcription of the program. Representatives Connery of Massachusetts and O'Toole of New York took the floor of Congress to protest. Representative O'Toole had heard the broadcast in a friend's home, excused himself immediately and within ten minutes started an agitation for congressional action. The "offensive radio program caused concern even to callous Hollywood," according to Father Sheehy. Motion-picture producers issued orders forbidding their stars to broadcast unless their scripts were previously censored.

Monsignor Michael J. Ready, general secretary of the National Catholic Welfare Conference; Stanley Resor, president of J. Walter Thompson Advertising Company, which handled the broadcast; Frank Russell, vice-president of NBC; James Hayden, professor of radio law at Catholic University; Father Sheehy and others held a conference. As a result, Father Sheehy states, drastic steps were taken to prevent such offense in the future.

Following the conference, NBC was taken to task by the Federal Communications Commission. The FCC's letter, released to the press, carried a threat that in renewing licenses in the future the Commission will take into account "trespasses against public interest," and whether or not the licensee had conducted the station "in the public interest." Previously, the Commission had consistently refused to consider the editorial policies of station managers on the ground that it had no power of censorship. Reversal of this position on the part of the Commission followed the Church's intervention.

It was the Catholic press which won this decisive victory for the cause of decency, according to Father Sheehy. "Radio programs," he states, "are now being subjected to such careful scrutiny as has never before been attempted and those holding radio licenses know that one more such offensive program will bring upon them dreaded and drastic legal censorship."

Jehovah's witnesses likewise have felt the force of the Church's influence in radio control. Privately owned radio stations have been prevented from broadcasting their programs under threat of boycott and other forms of coercion. In 1933 the Catholic hierarchy began a vigorous campaign to influence the stations to ban these programs on the ground that the speeches attacked the Catholics. This Jehovah's witnesses denied:

> Not one word of testimony has been submitted to show that any program broadcast by Jehovah's witnesses attacks the clergy or lay members of any denomination. The statement of a truth as it exists is not an attack upon a person. . . . If the clergy of any denomination are promulgating a doctrine that is contrary to God's Word then that doctrine is the very opposite of "public convenience, interest and necessity." If a statement is broadcast, fully supported by the Word of Jehovah God, that statement is not an attack upon men of the clergy profession even though such statement of truth makes the doctrines held dear by the clergy to appear ridiculous in the eyes of other persons.

Defending the Church's ban, Father Sheehy says: "Great peril might result if we allow irresponsible individuals to secure for themselves air space and then set themselves up as religious spokesmen without proper ecclesiastical approval. There should be the requirement that an individual who participates in a religious broadcast should be an authorized spokesman of the religion he represents."

Jehovah's witnesses show proof of the Church's interference with more than thirty of their radio programs during the past few years. For ten years, the organization had an annual contract with Station WIP, owned by Gimbel Brothers at Philadelphia, for broadcasting the addresses of Judge Joseph F. Rutherford, its president. The last contract expired in March, 1936. It was about to be renewed when the Church's threat of boycott induced the station to refuse to renew. The Reverend James J. Clarke, pastor of the Church of Our Lady of the Blessed Sacrament, seeking to prevent Judge Rutherford's radio address, wrote the following letter to Gimbel Brothers:

Church of Our Lady of the Blessed Sacrament
HOLY GHOST FATHERS
714 N. Broad Street
Philadelphia

Station W.I.P. 15th Feb 1936
Gimbel Bros.
Philada.

Dear Sirs:

As a Catholic Clergyman and as Pastor of the above named Church, in the name of my Parishioners, I protest against you allowing broadcasting facilities to Judge Rutherford next Sunday afternoon at 3 P.M. or any other time. My reasons for the protest are that Judge Rutherford attacks the Catholic Church, misrepresents her teachings and foments religious hatred and bigotry. If the said Judge is allowed to speak next Sunday afternoon please take my

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name off your charge account list, because I will never spend another penny in Gimbel Bros. store. The surprise is that you would allow such a broadcast and thereby expose a very large per cent of your customers to open insult and ridicule. Hoping you will take the necessary action

Respectfully
(Rev.) JAMES J. CLARKE, Pastor.

Cardinal Dougherty's endorsement followed (see cut at bottom of column).

Station WIP refused to be influenced by these threats, whereupon great numbers of letters were sent to Gimbel Brothers. Telephone calls and personal visits rounded out the campaign until the pressure finally resulted in the station's refusal to sign the contract.

Other instances of successful coercive action by the Church are available. The Knights of Columbus threatened the loss of at least 1,000 accounts of the Buttery Department Store at Havre, Montana, associated with the radio station KFBB of Great Falls, unless that station would exclude Judge Rutherford's programs.

Radio Station KALB of Alexandria, Louisiana, offered profuse apologies to Bishop Daniel F. Desmond for the broadcast of a recorded address of Judge Rutherford in April, 1937. "Mr. Walter H. Allen, president of the Alexandria Broadcasting Company who operate Station KALB, went to the Bishop's House to assure His Excellency that the contract with the concern who issue the Judge Rutherford records would be canceled immediately, although with considerable financial loss to the station."

At St. Paul, Minnesota, Station WHRM was reminded by The Catholic Bulletin "that there are some 515,000 Catholic people in the state of Minnesota. . . .

CHANCERY OFFICE
1712 Summer Street
Philadelphia

April 30, 1936.

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

Having consulted His Eminence, Dennis Cardinal Dougherty, regarding the letter of Rev. James J. Clarke, C. S. Sp., rector of the Church of Our Lady of the Blessed Sacrament, Philadelphia, he informed me that this letter has his entire approval, and that His Eminence joins in the protest; moreover, that he will take further and more drastic action if the broadcasting of Judge Rutherford is permitted to continue.

Dennis Cardinal Dougherty is Archbishop of Philadelphia.

J. Carroll Mc Cormick,
CHANCELLOR
Archdiocese of Philadelphia.

I need not tell you what steps the Catholic people can take at once for their own protection from unwarranted abuse and insult against your station and against advertisers that support your station" [June 24, 1933].

The Catholic Daughters of America helped the campaign in their own way:

We, Catholic Daughters of America, demand that the Judge Rutherford program or any program of its kind be prohibited from broadcasting its erroneous theories against Catholicism over Station WEST [Easton, Pennsylvania].

A copy of this demand is being sent to the advertisers on Station WEST [April 24, 1937].

Station WBNO at New Orleans felt the pressure also. Catholic Action of the South filed with it the following official communication which resulted in a cancellation of the Jehovah's witnesses contract:

CATHOLIC ACTION
of the South

New Orleans, La
April 22, 1937

Manager,
W.B.N.O.
St. Charles Hotel,
New Orleans, La.

Dear Sir:

Pursuant our telephone conversation last night anent the Rutherford broadcast. I am sure you will agree with me after listening to the rest of "his talk" that you do not want to continue his broadcast, if for no other reason than you cannot afford embarrassing your advertisers by insulting most of their patrons.

[Station] WDSU attempted twice to feature these Rutherford broadcasts and became ugly about it when we respectfully asked them to discontinue same; nevertheless, they discontinued, but only after some publicity on the subject had been given.

We loathe going into print, directly pointing out people who do not respect our Catholic sensibilities by allowing a liar and jailbird like Rutherford on the air.

We will be very pleased to hear from you, that you will discontinue his program at once.

Sincerely yours,
PETER M. H. WYNHOVEN
(Rt. Rev. Msgr.) Peter M. H. Wynhoven
Editor-in-Chief

The Catholic Columbian of the Diocese of Columbus, Ohio, September 16, 1938, gives its readers a sample protest letter to send to WBNS, and another for its advertisers and declares: "We can and must do something to put Rutherford and his kind forever off the air. . . . A long pull, a strong pull, a pull all together will see the thing come in a month's time. And the means or method is simply this: boycott the companies who use the offending stations to advertise their wares; refuse to buy the goods of such companies."

LEO H. LEHMANN

This is the third in the series of articles on "The Catholic Church in Politics." – THE EDITORS

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Shoot the Works

Peace by Struggle

BEFORE THE OPENING of the CIO convention I sought out a friend who is extremely well informed on all current phases of the labor movement although he himself belongs to no trade union. I told him that I was wholly in favor of labor unity. It seemed to me that both the domestic and the international situation demanded that the ranks should close up.

"What do you think the CIO should do in order to promote peace?" I asked.

My well informed friend replied, "The road to peace will have to be through the development of the CIO as a separate organization."

"You mean," I remonstrated, "that unity can only come through disunity? Does that make sense?"

"I think it does and I believe I read in a column of yours the statement that the only way America could hope to bring about international disarmament would be for us to rearm. As I remember, you argued that we would have to be strong enough to command respect before we could effectively cry out, 'Let's all drop our weapons.'"

"So what?" I asked sourly.

"The analogy," my informant continued, "is far from perfect but it will suffice. I am in a position to state of my own knowledge that at the moment the influential leaders of the A. F. of L. feel that they are riding high, wide and handsome. They think they have the CIO licked. They drew a great deal of comfort out of the election.

"I hope I need not go back to kindergarten days and waste my time in telling you that William Green has very little to do with the formulation of the policy of the A. F. of L. He is the medium through which more powerful leaders speak. And please give me credit for not even mentioning the name of Charlie McCarthy. Hutchinson, of course, is far more powerful than Green. His union has the same relation to the A. F. of L. that the United Mine Workers has to the CIO. That punch at Atlantic City which laid Hutchinson on the floor has not been forgotten. The leader of the carpenters still feels the bruise to his prestige. He simply will not agree to any peace with the A. F. of L. except on terms of abject surrender by the forces of John L. Lewis.

"I agree with those political commentators who say that Franklin Roosevelt will be a poor strategist if he backpedals and admits that the last election was almost a knockout. I think that both Lewis and Roosevelt will come back fighting instead of retreating. In both cases their discomfiture was more of a headline reverse than a crushing defeat. The CIO has suffered on the political front. It has had a bad press and it is unpopular with both the farmers and the large unorganized middle-class groups. But that is nothing new. The election merely accentuated those features.

"Remember that in the actual work of organizing the CIO is still doing a much better job than the A. F. of L. For instance, the danger of any secession by the automobile workers has ended. I'll make the prediction that when Homer Martin speaks at the CIO convention he will pay tribute to CIO leadership and announce his loyalty. And you will also find that the judgment of every CIO leader will favor going ahead to constitutionalize and formalize the CIO organization. This will make it 'respectable.'

"I hope I am not dealing with a naïve young romantic who knows nothing more about the labor movement than he can pick up at the bar of the Stork Club. But anticipating the worst in regard to my audience, I will warn you to pay little attention to the talk about Lewis, the uncompromising dictator. There are points in which men like Hillman and Murray of one wing and Bridges and Curran on the other disagree with Lewis. But they are entirely with him or even ahead of him on the necessity of the adoption of a constitution and the founding of a permanent CIO organization. This will make for efficiency, and even the best friends of the A. F. of L. would hardly care to assert that its structure promotes team play and unity within its own ranks.

"I believe that with formal organization the tide will quicken in favor of the CIO as far as trade unionists go. The general public may be slow in following the drift. But remember that comparative membership rolls mean little. It is a question of disaffection within the ranks. I think it is accurate to say that right now CIO leadership commands far more respect from its membership than the A. F. of L. heads can glean in their own ranks. Bear in mind that Dubinsky's secession was not a tribute to Green and Company. On the other hand Tobin's Houston protest was distinctly a laurel wreath thrown in the direction of John L. There should be peace in the labor movement, and there can be peace in the labor movement, but the CIO can bring it about best by sticking to its knitting and giving a practical demonstration of what good coördination can do in the achievement of practical benefits for the workers."

Whether my well informed friend was correct in whole or not, I do not know. Some of his predictions were made good a day or so later. The string of speeches in favor of going ahead and adopting a constitution reflected a complete agreement upon the part of all the leaders, big and little. And at least one of the speakers said that the A. F. of L. really owed a debt of gratitude to the CIO. I'm sorry I have forgotten the name of the delegate, but he said in effect, "Mr. Green talks of dualism and he says that the A. F. of L. stands solidly together. If so, he should thank the CIO for promoting unity, because this is the first time in its history the A. F. of L. was ever solid on anything."

Personally, I think that peace moves must be speeded up. It disappointed me that the President's message to the CIO convention did not hint rather broadly at the possibility of an offer by the White House to set up mediating machinery. But in all fairness to Mr. Roosevelt it must be admitted that nobody made any opening in the line for him to knife through. I think, however, that it might be pertinent for someone to suggest again the possibility of a fact-finding commission on American labor both organized and unorganized. There need be no recommendations. The facts would tell the story. They would, I believe, show the necessity for maintaining all gains which have been made through industrial set-ups and even the need for augmenting this type of organization. And a formalized and constitutional CIO stands in the position of being able to go out and add to the facts which are already on the record.

Pittsburgh HEYWOOD BROUN

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Washington Notes

Millions for Defense, But . . .

THE ADMINISTRATION has now, as a formal policy, undertaken the defense of this hemisphere. It is not easy to find out what, if anything, this means. Military experts are elaborately vague. A small group of administration advisers, however, insist that it concerns Brazil.

Brazil humps out into the South Atlantic until its easternmost point is almost next door to the westernmost point of Africa. From British or Portuguese Guinea, or from the Portuguese Cape Verde Islands, it is only a trifle more than fifteen hundred miles to the Brazilian city of Pernambuco. Along this air highway, moreover, are the Brazilian islands of St. Paul's Rock and Fernando do Noronha. From Africa to Brazil would be no more than a morning's stroll for a bomber. Mail planes fly the route with ease.

The South African Defense Minister, Mr. Oswald Pirow —so these administration advisers emphasize—is now reported to be offering Hitler a selection of African colonies. Once Nazidom is established in Africa, rich, largely unarmed Brazil will lie almost within the German grasp.

This is the administration's story, and United States military experts, when they can be persuaded to talk at all, laugh at it. The West African colonies that Mr. Pirow is supposed to be offering Hitler—to begin with—are more than a thousand miles from the Cape Verde Islands and the Guineas. But, the military experts say, suppose it were true that German bombers, hundreds of them, could be sent across the South Atlantic to Brazil, what possible military objective could Hitler achieve?

With great frankness, military men agree that they have no hope of protecting us wretched civilians against casual air raids. When—if ever—the citizens of Pernambuco fear for their safety, the thing for them to do is to build underground shelters, like half the rest of the world, and let the bombers bomb. But a German attack on Brazil can be carried out only with military transports filled with troops, accompanied by a vast number of supply ships and guarded by a great fleet.

At the same press conference in which Mr. Roosevelt announced that this nation must prepare for the defense of the hemisphere, he also said that the administration had no intention of maintaining a two-ocean fleet. It is things like this that baffle the probably weak brains of the writer. Only six months ago, Mr. Roosevelt and the administration leaders in Congress were calling for a two-ocean fleet as our primary defense against fascist threats. Moreover, military opinion agreed that, if a fascist invasion of the hemisphere were at all imaginable, it necessarily must be met by fleet action. An Atlantic squadron was soon afterwards created by the navy. The squadron, it must be admitted, consisted of extremely venerable, toothless ships, but it seemed a beginning. Suddenly we don't need a two-ocean navy.

The just issued annual report of General Malin Craig, the army's chief-of-staff, offers an implicit commentary on the administration's preparedness plans. General Craig says the army needs anti-tank guns, anti-aircraft guns and listening equipment. The army has plaintively been asking for these weapons for years, and has never obtained them. There is no secret about why it hasn't. No private corporations make them, and the munitions lobby has never pressed for them. If the army receives them in the coming session of Congress, it will be a secular miracle.

But the interesting part of General Craig's report is its omissions. The White House advisers are now talking about our need for a great air fleet, equal to that of any power in the world, perhaps as many as 7,000 machines. General Craig says nothing about expanding the purchase of airplanes above the present official schedule, set by Mr. Newton D. Baker's Board of Inquiry five years ago. The White House spokesmen have also been hinting of vast orders for military supplies to be given to industry—orders that are to give employment to great numbers of WPA workers. General Craig notes that the army is spending $2,000,000 for "educational" orders, and mildly recommends that this sum be increased for the coming year. Two million dollars may be a lot of money to you or me, brother, but by New Deal standards it is canary seed. There can be no doubt whatever that the administration means to undertake a gigantic armament program. But what the money is to be spent on, and why, seems to be Mr. Roosevelt's secret.

While Mr. Roosevelt has been talking largely about solidarity in this hemisphere, the Department of Agriculture, with its wheat-dumping program, has badly strained our relations with Argentina. A few days ago, a United States grain broker, Mr. F. A. Theis, appeared in Rio de Janeiro, offering cheap North American wheat in exchange for coffee. Because of its geographical nearness, Brazil is a "natural" market for Argentina's wheat, and takes from a quarter to a half of its crop. Argentine business men feel about Mr. Theis's invasion of Brazil exactly as United States business men feel about the onrush of Nazi machinery manufacturers into Mexico—which is to say, thumping mad.

Foreign Minister Aranha of Brazil has stamped on the coffee-barter plan. It is possible that the Brazilian government, through its control of foreign exchange, may keep United States wheat from being sold at all. Meantime, the administration has been stuttering with embarrassment. Mr. Hull flatly denied that we meant to dump in Brazilian markets. When Mr. Wallace was asked if this meant his wheat-dumping program had been abandoned, he admitted that it hadn't been. The episode is not one this country can take pride in. Ever since Mr. Roosevelt took office, we have loftily been preaching against the evils of export subsidies. We have said they were against good-neighborliness, and contrary to international morality. Our wheat dumping will be hard to explain away at the Lima conference next month.

Mr. Wallace, however, deserves credit for a small but sensible step towards hemispherical solidarity. Recently the Agriculture Department gave a thousand chincona trees, from the bark of which quinine is made, to the Brazilian government. It is hoped that eventually Brazil may supply a large part of our quinine demand. To encourage South America to raise raw materials that we need, and that do not compete with our own products, represents the good-neighbor policy in its most intelligent form. The Agriculture Department's chincona trees, interestingly enough, will have made a vast circuit in time and space. Quinine originally came from Peru, as its earlier name, Peruvian bark, indi-

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cates. With vast trouble, chincona trees were transplanted to the Dutch East Indies, from which most commercial quinine now comes. The trees given Brazil are returning, after about a century of wandering, to their native continent.

Washington T. R. B.

Other People's Money

Let's Look at the Record

THIS IS an excellent moment to survey some of the drifts which appear in the broad and misty sea of our national life at the end of six years of agitation and reform.

For one thing, a group of social-welfare measures has been adopted into law. Chief among them are the Social Security Act, the SEC, the National Labor Relations Act, the TVA, the Utility Holding Company Act and the Wages and Hours Act.

There is no doubt that these measures are of the progressive variety. But there is little doubt that they are the kind of progressive measures which even a fairly confirmed but intelligent conservative would favor. The SEC and the Utility Holding Company Act are on the side of honesty in business administration. The Social Security Act and the Wages and Hours Act are on the side of humane welfare legislation. The former is advocated by many well known conservatives. More to the left is the National Labor Relations Act and still further the TVA.

Credit for these measures should be given wherever it is due. The collapse of 1933 was so complete, so terrible, that it wiped out all resistance to social reform. No matter who was elected President, a social-security law would have been passed and a wages-and-hours law. This is not a matter of mere conjecture. As a matter of fact, the Congress upon assembling in 1933 and before any program of reform could be formulated by the President, even before the NRA was thought of, had before it a maximum-hour bill. That was the Black bill. It is far more drastic than the wages-and-hours bill passed five years later. It provided for a thirty-hour week and it passed the Senate with little opposition. A similar bill in the House—the Connery bill—added the minimum-wage feature and things were all set to report that bill and pass it by an overwhelming majority when the President intervened. One of the urges for hastily cooking up the NRA was to check this wages-and-hours legislation. It was not very well considered legislation, but it was barging through on its own power. It took no leadership to get such legislation passed. But good leadership could have produced a good bill in 1933. Instead the administration's leadership was employed to block the bill. And it is an odd commentary on the New Deal that a wages-and-hours law—which should have been first on the agenda of reform—was not adopted until five years later.

The same thing is true of the Social Security Act. Men and women—liberals, progressives, conservatives—organized to promote social insurance pressed for legislation. You might have supposed that in an intelligent reform movement this would be among the first measures considered. It would have had no serious opposition. Instead some power seemed to paralyze its progress. A committee called on the President to urge his assistance. He put them off. He said he feared the time had not arrived for old-age pensions. But in the end he capitulated under the pressure of the Townsend agitation. A Social Security Act was passed, but not until 1935—two and a half years after the inauguration and after the NRA and the AAA had collapsed. And the law that was passed is just about as bad as a social-security law can well be.

As for the SEC, the pressure for that was immense and it arose out of the exposures of the Pecora committee and the long series of scandals which preceded the breakdown. The act is a good one. But it could have been a far better one. After being introduced it was weakened at many vital points. All of this weakening was the result of the interference of the executive branch of the government, chiefly the Treasury, which drew tooth after tooth from that act. When the act was passed, the personnel of the Commission named by the President was such, beginning with Joe Kennedy right out of a broker's office, that for three years literally nothing was done by the Commission save to play along in a friendly and futile way with the Exchange of Richard Whitney.

For the TVA and the National Labor Relations Board the administration deserves full credit.

But all these things seem important now merely because the big parts of the New Deal program—the thing which was named the "New Deal" in the beginning—collapsed. Chief of these were the NRA and the AAA, but most of all the NRA. These were two of the most reactionary measures ever brought forward in my lifetime. The NRA, had it succeeded, would have sent this government along a fascist road of economic control by employers' associations.

But the New Deal moves toward its end. There are left the good effects of the SEC, the TVA, the National Labor Relations Board and the Utility Holding Company Act, which was after all a very feeble capsule administered for a very malignant disease. But rising to the surface, more and more every day in the most sinister form, is the return of the NRA idea and the growing militaristic plans of the administration.

The essential idea of the NRA was to let business groups organize and control their economic life—and ours along with theirs. "Self-Rule in Business" is the Chamber of Commerce slogan for this. This is one thing the President apparently believes in devoutly. This bad and utterly wrong-headed thing went by the board for the moment with the fall of the NRA. But the President has revived it in one industry—the coal industry—with the Guffey Coal Act. And if the Democrats lose the 1940 election it is as certain as life that a Republican administration will get around to putting this "Self-Rule in Business" into effect. And there will be no effective opposition to it; Roosevelt killed that resistance by putting the Democratic Party on its side.

And along with this we will find ourselves committed to a program of jingoistic nonsense for another generation. No Hoover or Harding could put over the present militaristic plans. Only one who had been sold to the country as a liberal could succeed with it. If this succeeds, the liberals will have themselves to thank for having invested Roosevelt with the character which made possible this destruction of one of their most cherished ideals.

JOHN T. FLYNN

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Stage and Book

Danton's Death, by Georg Buchner. Translated by Geoffry Dunlop. Songs by Marc Blitzstein. Mercury Theatre, November 2, 1938.
Leave It to Me, by Bella and Samuel Spewack. Music and lyrics by Cole Porter. Imperial Theatre, November 9, 1938.

A FEW YEARS AGO we were saying that the décor side of the theatre art enjoyed a certain advantage over the other contributory arts involved. The impurity of the theatre as an art form appeared in the sheer number and conflict of these elements: drama, acting, décor, etc. In the décor alone might we find one artist creating the whole of it and free from intervention. The danger within that very fact, of course, was obvious. For whereas the artist responsible for the décor of a production may achieve a wholeness through his complete control of that side of it, the play itself may suffer through the visual body that he gives to it, or may at least be inadequately served, thrown off the track, or overwhelmed—the point is obvious.

I must confess that, as time passed, my own reaction to this question had been to side with the play as against the décor, on the general basis that if the artist cannot find in drama the seed of what he wants to express, he had better go elsewhere or else create a dramatic vehicle for himself, rather than distort or wreck a play beyond all seeming. I can even see myself now as more at home with the remark Aristotle so easily made: that the spectacle, or décor, though an attraction, was the least artistic of all the parts of the theatrical art and had least to do with creation.

It should follow, therefore, once this point is granted, that the compliments bestowed on Mr. Orson Welles for his production of the play that a young Prussian wrote over a hundred years ago are badly misplaced. You could in fact quite reasonably debate as to whether a criticism saying that the production was magnificent but lacked a play is any more credit to an occasion than saying that the play might have some point had it not been hindered, or engulfed, by the production. We have one of two things: either the play had some core in it that needed to find a visual embodiment in which it is implicit and given yet an added life, in which case the artist of the décor, like the soul that Plotinus compares to an actor on the stage, adapts himself to the fortunes assigned to him, ranges himself rightly to the drama he must invest, and to the whole principle of the piece, exhibiting at the same time all that a soul can express of its own quality, like a singer in a song. Or else the play has not that core, and is only a dead body. In that case all this orgastic décor is only some sort of esthetic necrophilia, as it were, or is some assertive egotism unwilling to prop itself on its own feet.

The setting for "Danton's Death" (by Mr. Stephen Jan Tichacek) consisted of a background reaching to the top of the stage, all heads, masks, packed close together—a highly effective idea that was at times actually effective. There were also various stairs, traps and platforms.

The acting suited for an expressionistic play like this of Buchner's is not, except for the Robespierre of Mr. Vladimir Sokoloff—who did this same part in Reinhardt's production at the Century Theatre eleven years ago—and Mr. Morgan Farley's Hérault de Sechelles, to be found in the Mercury Theatre production. Unfortunately Mr. Sokoloff fought so violently with the English language as to be something of a solo drama in himself, and at that a tragedy of matter over mind; for the words stuck, clung and spit themselves beyond our normal listening habits; and Mr. Farley's efforts seemed merely to make him cross. Mr. Welles as St. Just got the better of curtains and lights and had those final moments of the play—there was a considerable *tirade* of them—to himself. As we saw in his Faustus, this actor has a fine voice, perfectly placed, beautifully invested with sound and rhythm. But that does not make his reading of the long and cardinal passage that ends this play of Revolution and Danton and Death any less incoherent and handsomely fatuous. It is indicative of our times, perhaps, that one should hear, as I did in the Mercury foyer, that this was the style in which the older theatre recited, was it not awful?—and so on. Let us not fool ourselves; the old method did not lose sight of the sense. There was a more or less general assumption that a speech meant to make sense, the parts of it were to be worked into their proper relation to the whole. Mr. Welles's delivery of this speech seemed merely stylized exhibitionism, arbitrary and too hard to follow. As a matter of fact, the Mercury Theatre's production of "Danton's Death" is, certain flair-flashes excepted, a pleasant bore more suited to the Little Theatres a decade ago or to college is as college does.

In this revue of "Leave It to Me" that the Spewacks wrote, there are brains, as we might expect from our memories of "Boy Meets Girl." There is food for thought in the story of an honest, wife-run American who goes unwillingly from his own Topeka, Kansas, to be Ambassador to Russia; in the ironic circumstances that—somewhat as with Lady Gregory's Hyacinth Halvey—turn all he does into applause; in the flexible internationalism of his contacts and reactions, and so forth and so on, down to the ironic dénouement: he is recalled for recommending policies that are really human and far-sighted. Miss Sophie Tucker and Mr. William Gaxton give admirably competent, hard and busy performances. Mr. Victor Moore as the American Ambassador, was, as usual, careful, adorable, sharp-eyed and contagious, touchingly triumphant. Mr. Albert Johnson's settings are original, bright and dramatic—a talent like music and laughter and sophisticated after-reflection, a superb eye. This entertainment seemed to me consistently racy, caustic, mellifluous—not forgetting, of course, Cole Porter's songs at top form, and Mr. du Bois' costumes, and Mr. Robert Alton's dance routines—a delightful evening.

Meanwhile, on the subject of this American theatre of ours there has appeared a book[1] with some four hundred or more photographs and sketches, not too many of them beyond the indifferent in value; a rather drifting account, fifty or more pages—try to imagine a sort of gossipy, semi-idle theory, for its quality is something like that—of the motion picture in America by M. René Fülöp-Miller; and a genuinely solid and well grounded account of our theatre by Mr. John Anderson, the dramatic critic of The New York Journal.

[1] The American Theatre, by John Anderson, and The Motion Picture in America, by René Fülöp-Miller. New York. The Dial Press. 430 pages. $5.

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There is a more or less unusual slant to the book's announced intention, which is to keep strictly to a sketch of the American theatre in relation to the drama. Readers inside the theatre will appreciate the truth and intuition of this account, and outside readers its knowledge and good sense; and both will admire the fine openness of mind and temper and the unbroken line of its interest. In a later article we will go into the discussion of these points.

STARK YOUNG

Two for Our Side

AFFABLE AS THE U. S. NAVY has been in making our armed forces afloat virtually a part of the Hollywood production department, I can't remember seeing a navy picture that looked anything like life in the navy, or indeed anywhere else. There was one in which Jim Cagney as an apprentice seaman was given some shrewd lines to rip out, and certainly ripped them, but the general idea was safe because the general idea as I recall was that a few weeks later he was made a rear admiral and hurrah hurrah. Then there was "Submarine D-1," which had some wonderful technical stuff buried under an atrocious nagging story. All the many others leave nothing with me but an impression of the boy getting the girl by rescuing single-handed a certain percentage of the entire fleet, which inevitably came steaming up for the big conclusion with all guns firing at nothing in all directions at once.

"Submarine Patrol" is not like these others, not pretentious at all; it tries to mean something and manages to be something good. It goes into a little known and hardly glorious part of naval history: the convoy operations of a sort of mosquito fleet during the War. Old timers still talk about that service, and while it wasn't anything grand it was apparently about as good a way of going mad as any, for the ships ranged in size from an obsolescent destroyer to an outrigger canoe with a machine-gun mount; and men cooped in them for weeks on end, tossing around on those gray seas in some little cracker box, badly fitted, provisioned and manned, and no telling when the bottom would drop out or the whole works be blown sky high by the lethal stuff that was anchored or on the prowl there, more terrible because hidden under the surface. This story is not of main operations; it is simply about the few people on just one boat. It feels the need for romance, what is more (tiddlywinks young man get a woman if you can), and so part of the action hinges on the love of two of the newer young beautifuls, Richard Greene and Nancy Kelly. Yet it gets something said about these men and about men in general, because John Ford made it to hold life as a picture.

Outside the young-love angle, the main idea is to show the ship and people in it—a few seasoned old dogs and the rest raw but learning—taking them through our introduction to them, to their work at sea, to their final risky cutting-out foray against one of the more dangerous submarines, lying behind a mine field at its base. And in all this the writing helps: scraps of authentic dialogue, a free progression, a steady eye on the fact that at the time of its actual happening even the heroic is no theatre rant and bombast but pretty much like every day. All through it there are many good gag lines but no gags as such, and it is a relief to see that we can have hard work and fun too without the traditional crude visualization of everybody standing around all spit and polish and attention one minute, and playing football with the binnacle the next.

Because they are so intimate and visible a part of it, you naturally think of the actors first, and there is a good crew here. Leaving out the young folks, there is Preston Foster as the young skipper kicked out of destroyer duty; J. Farrell McDonald as a swell Irish type; George Bancroft, very sturdy as the girl's father; and Slim Summerville, Maxie Rosenbloom and Warren Hymer, better than usual here, more natural to their surroundings.

Partly noticeable in the way you begin thinking of familiar acting faces as just ship's people, partly in the way a sequence takes shape and falls quietly into place, you recognize this as a director's picture, with everything under control. Even a dangerous bit of sentiment like the moment of tribute to the vanished sub ("Mr. Johnson, make a slow eight bells") is safe in its own simplicity and homely right disposition. The last action, done in one of Mr. Ford's mists, is a thriller all right; but it is built up to rather than being simply tossed in. And it is this quality of building, this care for the natural truth of every situation, this cutter's talent for emphasis, which is so essential to the growth of a technically painstaking but largely careless art. "Submarine Patrol" is a good true job for audiences; it might have been made even better, but it's one for our side.

The film "The Young in Heart" makes a success out of itself almost in spite of itself. In the first place, it has to worry over that old chestnut about the reform of the incorrigible by sweetness and trust—this time it is the kind old lady who operates on the tear ducts of a family of sharpers. And then through the first part of the story its treatment seems rather obstinate about the obvious—scenes that do no more than put a point on platitude.

But the story picks up after a while in general tone, and first thing you know, damned if they haven't almost climbed the impossible mountain, making the unlikely rather natural, the conventional shifts rather charming and gay. There is some very clever writing and there is a fine blending of effects—not only people and the way they and the scrapes they're in are handled but the set building, which is quite important in the conception of the Wombat salesrooms and the engineering office; and Franz Waxman's scoring of music is frequently delightful, as in the Valkyrie theme underlining the achievements of the Wombat. There is good stuff from Douglas Fairbanks Jr., whose light-comedy talent none can doubt after such a scene as the one where he comes in boiled and takes off (surprise!) his tisey-wisey; and Roland Young, may God preserve his complete actor's assurance and fine dry wit.

It is a droll approach to the dull but necessary things of the world that counts most here. And while this is an evanescent thing, requiring both a fresh touch and sure craftsmanship—no way to describe the whole run of it—you can recall such an idea as that where the cadgers, father and son, are watching some excavation work, commenting in wonder and delight, and use it as an example of the fantastic's becoming almost inevitable under your eyes, because of the qualities of zest and belief with which those who made it went to work.

OTIS FERGUSON

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The Bandwagon

But I know what is a really incredible thing, and that is that *I* should be occupying the office which at present I hold. – *Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain, writing in Liberty.*

His [Lincoln Steffens'] fame lived until his death, in 1937. Nothing he wrote afterward attracted widespread attention. – *From "The Education of an American," by Mark Sullivan.*

Traveling in Europe is a stereotyped business. One is always in a Ritz if for no other reason than that one never visits any but Ritz cities. – *Lucius Beebe in his syndicated column in The New York Herald Tribune and other papers.*

"There is no place for force or for taking over of property in Michigan," he said. "We won't keep working men out of work 18 of the 24 months in the year." – *Frank D. Fitzgerald, Governor-elect of Michigan, quoted in The Lansing State Journal.*

There is every reason to believe, too, that the prisoner himself will resent the unseemly haste with which Mr. Olson professes his intention of removing the name of Mooney from the list of causes célèbres. A human being constantly within the eye of the spotlight, even as a prisoner, develops a natural craving for attention, which is bound to be largely lacking when his term is ended. – *From an editorial in The Knoxville, Tenn., Journal.*

Hands Up! Happy New Year!

Propaganda Minister Paul Joseph Goebbels denied today that there had been "plundering" of Jewish shops and restaurants wrecked in yesterday's anti-Semitic terror.

He explained: "In a few isolated cases, perhaps, old women made off with small trinkets or pieces of wearing apparel to be used as Christmas presents. There was no actual robbery or intention to rob." – *From a Berlin dispatch to The New York Herald Tribune.*

The New Leisure

Store employees freed from work a little earlier in the evening under the 10 o'clock shop-closing law, which became effective September 1, are paying not the slightest heed to the elaborate plans of government officials for their new leisure, according to the Nichi Nichi.

Instead of devoting their liberty to the pursuit of finer things, as the government had hoped they would, the several hundred thousand workers benefited by the law have been losing no time, once their daily work is done, in dashing off to bed and sleep. – *News item in The Trans-Pacific, Tokyo.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column and $1 will be paid for each item used. Address The Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. – THE EDITORS

Correspondence

The Catholic Church in Politics

SIR: Following a practice of our editorial board when the occasion arises, I am writing this letter with regard to the series of articles by Dr. Leo H. Lehmann about the Catholic Church in America, now running in The New Republic. Without going into this discussion one way or the other, I should like to say here that there are certain elements in the tone and in the direction of these articles that I regret and cannot endorse.

New York City STARK YOUNG

SIR: In the discussion of the role of Roman Catholics in supporting Mayor Hague's dictatorship in Jersey City, covered in the article in your issue of November 16 by Dr. Leo Lehmann, no recognition is given whatever to the very courageous opposition by Roman Catholics associated with The Catholic Worker and the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists. They have repeatedly distributed literature against the orders of the Jersey City police and have attempted to hold meetings. Their representatives testified in the federal court proceedings against Mayor Hague.

Noteworthy too was the single-handed fight against Hague put up by John Longo, a devout young Catholic now serving nine months in the county penitentiary for alleged fraud in gathering signatures for an election petition. Young Mr. Longo was secretary of a local Holy Name Society.

Not all Jersey City Catholics are on one side or under control.

New York City ROGER BALDWIN

SIR: At this period in world affairs, when no country is immune to the spread of race and religious prejudice, I regret to see The New Republic publish a series of articles telling some truths, but not the truth, about the Catholic Church. The truth would include facts and explanations which the articles omit—deliberately, it seems, and in a spirit of prejudice. Made up of human beings as it is, the Church is not perfect; but why point out the worst side of a great institution only, and not balance the record with some statement of its value? I am afraid that the net result of articles like this will be the opposite of the intentions of the editors and the author—the Church will go on, but will the spirit of tolerance and liberalism in this country? Even our nation, like the Church, has its lunatic fringe; some of its members have been capable of tying American citizens to trees and setting fires under them.

New York City B. E. BETTINGER

Mr. Flynn v. T. R. B.

SIR: In your issue of October 26, Mr. Flynn tells us that the Washington trust investigators may "keep up a chatter about the evils of monopoly," but that their real objective is the resurrection of the NRA; that competition will emerge as their villain, and that the remedies they will suggest will, if adopted, result in bigger and better monopolies—better, of course, for the profiteers and the racketeers.

This news is highly important and highly disturbing—if true. It is based, Mr. Flynn says, on the speeches and conversations of the investigators. I have read some of the speeches

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referred to, but, living in Chicago, I am a stranger to the alleged conversations. But it seems to be significant that your own T. R. B., whose Washington Notes are so illuminating, informative and sober, does *not* share the fears and anxieties of Mr. Flynn. I turn to your issue of September 7 and find the following tribute to the trust investigators, the alleged foes of abundance and friends of monopoly:

> Observers here think that perhaps never before has so able a group of experts been recruited in the service of the government. . . . It is doubtful if any recent British royal commission could match, in brains, Messrs. Leon Henderson, Jerome Frank, W. O. Douglas, Thurman Arnold, Walton D. Hamilton, Willard Thorpe, Herman Oliphant, Dexter Keezer, to name only a handful.

T. R. B., plainly, despite his opportunities and facilities, has *not* received the impression that these remarkably able and keen men are plotting to put over government by a band of business pirates and buccaneers, men who believe in scarcity and extortionate prices. Or does his admiration for their brains and knowledge imply contempt for their honesty; are they merely clever rascals?

Again, I happen to have read Thurman W. Arnold's two brilliant books on government and capitalism. I do not recall a *single* sentence in either of them which tends to favor monopoly and disparage competition. I recall pages and pages which demand increased production, abundance for all, effective government control or even government operation of certain great industries. The fear that government operation will destroy liberty, says Mr. Arnold, is irrational. He adds: "For millions, liberty has perished; for others, it is a name for ill gotten gains. We must experiment and learn from mistakes and successes alike. Dogmas must not stand in the way."

I submit that this language lends little support to the charge that Mr. Arnold envisages bigger and more rapacious monopolies, or would lead us into the economic jungle where greed, exploitation and hypocrisy flourish so luxuriantly!

The nature and trend of the trust investigation constitute a subject of real moment, and I trust you will publish these perplexed comments of mine. I am not so naïve as to expect complete agreement among your editors and leading contributors, but the contradictions and discrepancies I have pointed out cannot be dismissed as trivial.

Lewis Institute, Chicago, Ill. VICTOR E. YARROS

SIR: I could use a score of pages to answer this letter, but it would be useless. I wrote my piece as a warning. I knew when I wrote it that nobody would believe it. Time will settle it.

New York City JOHN T. FLYNN

Partisan Review Omnibus

SIR: Permit me to offer your readers the following comments on Malcolm Cowley's two articles, "Partisan Review" and "Red Ivory Tower" [The New Republic, October 19 and November 9].

1. He intimated that Partisan Review is fascist by associating it with The American Mercury, he accused it of "leading to a doctrine of salvation by revolutionary faith alone." To make *fascism* and *revolutionary faith* synonymous is to be guilty of a most grievous debasement of political conceptions.

2. He claims that instead of sharing in practical political activity, Partisan Review and several other unnamed magazines are too interested in "the ethics and esthetics [?] and metaphysics of politics." Here he divorces ethics from practical politics. When a person does that, he is, wittingly or otherwise, taking a high road that leads to the same place as does fascism. Ethical questions in politics are not impractical. To write of ethics in con-

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WITH A MEMORANDUM BY CARL SANDBURG

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nection with politics is neither impractical nor "theological."

3. His analogy, between the Nationalists and Unionists in post-Parnellian Irish politics and the American radical "sects" of the 1930's, is falsely drawn and proves nothing. Further, it can be said that the political struggles in Ireland at this period involved most practical questions. The Unionist policy led to supporting the British recruiting drive in Ireland during the World War. The Nationalists traveled the route to the Easter Rebellion. Concerning the question of unity with the Redmond forces, James Connolly once said: "Unity is a good thing, but honesty is better, and if we can only have unity at the expense of honesty, then unity is not worth the price we are asked to pay for it."

4. Mr. Cowley said that we writers should leave the "metaphysics of politics to the political metaphysicians." In other words, we should leave our fates entirely in the hands of politicians and allow them to decide for us. How does this statement square with his latter-day interest in the "progressive movement"? In the same issue of The New Republic with his article, an advertisement informs us that he is a member of a committee supporting a Communist candidate. Did he join this committee after an evaluation of Mr. Amter's position and politics (the "metaphysics" of politics to him) or did he join it on faith?

5. These points are a few of many that I could make to demonstrate his utter inability to deal with the subjects he is trying to handle. He consistently refuses to defend a position. Rather, he shuttles between contradictions which black one another out. His own incompetence and decided anti-intellectual bias gives a singularly direct pertinence to his suggestion that writers should stick to the creation of literary works and the appreciation of literature. But here, practice makes perfect. And also, to whom will the "metaphysics" of esthetics be left?

JAMES T. FARRELL

New York City

We have received several other letters about Malcolm Cowley's criticism of Partisan Review. Lionel Trilling of New York City, records his dissenting opinion to Mr. Cowley's analysis. " . . . Partisan Review is one of the few good critical magazines in the country and the only organ of the Left to take culture seriously. If some of its outlook is political, that is because . . . there is (still) a deep, though not a simple, connection between literature and politics. . . . That it is not the 'irresponsible' little-magazine Mr. Cowley thinks it ought to be seems to me a virtue. . . ." . . .T. C. Wilson of Columbus, Ohio, agrees with Mr. Cowley in general about Partisan Review. ". . . If anything his criticism should have been much more severe, I mean as regards the editorial policy of the paper. . . . I agree that we need a decent magazine for what used to be called experimental writing. Partisan Review does *not* fill the bill." . . . Fairfield Porter of Hubbard Woods, Illinois, denies that Sidney Hook was unfair in his review of Kenneth Burke's "Attitudes Toward History." . . . "If Sidney Hook uses [the book] as a springboard for another article about the trials that is because he thinks intellectual honesty about the trials that involve the lives and reputations of hundreds of men more important than complete fairness to a single perfectly secure Kenneth Burke." – THE EDITORS

About Mr. Mangold

SIR: In the August 31 issue of The New Republic, on page 86, reference is made to the fact that Mr. William Mangold "has done effective work for the North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy."

Mr. Mangold is, no doubt, like most intelligent Americans of democratic sentiments, a sincere friend and supporter of the legitimate Spanish government, but he has never been connected with this organization, and I think mention should be made of this fact in your columns for the purpose of keeping the record straight.

HERMAN F. REISSIG,
Executive Secretary, Medical Bureau and North American Committee to Aid Spanish Democracy

New York City

[Mr. Mangold's official connection is with the Spanish Information Bureau. – THE EDITORS]

From The New Republic Mail Bag

S. S. Olans of Dorchester, Massachusetts, complains that nothing definitive is said in Arthur Gayer's review of Professor Alvin H. Hansen's "Full Recovery or Stagnation?" (November 9). Mr. Olans says, "It is one of those books that lead people to think that capitalism is capable of being wonderfully efficient, that it is the only workable system, that it is the foundation of democracy and that intelligent thinking, rather than brutally self-seeking interests, determine economic practices." . . . Leona Bach writes from Mexico City about the anti-Semitism of the Cárdenas government. She reports that Mexico, despite her promises, has failed to provide homes for the refugees from Germany and Austria. . . . Donald Bruce of Edmonton, Alberta, is distressed by the lack of attention the liberal magazines have paid to Technocracy. "Max Lerner," he writes, "in his article, 'Wasteland' [November 2], makes the same mistake when he says that Technocracy is 'dead as a movement.'" Mr. Bruce reports that Technocracy is a "vital force" all over North America.

John McCarthy of New York City announces a dinner in honor of Dr. John Haynes Holmes at the Hotel Astor, New York City, Tuesday evening, November 29, celebrating his thirty years' service to the Community Church. New York readers who are interested in attending the dinner can make reservations at the Church Center, 550 West One Hundred and Tenth Street, New York City.

What's on the Air?

"Do We Need a Larger Army and Navy?" is the topic of discussion on The People's Platform, Sunday, November 27, 7 P.M., CBS.

Isador Lubin, United States Commissioner of Labor Statistics, discusses employment problems in industry, Monday, November 28, 2:30 P.M., CBS.

"The Van Zeeland Peace Plan" is discussed on America's Town Meeting of the Air, Thursday, December 1, 9:30 P.M., NBC-Blue Network.

Musical and dramatic programs of the week include Toscanini, Saturday, November 26, 10 P.M., NBC-Blue Network; the New York Philharmonic, Sunday, November 27, 3 P.M., CBS; the Mercury Theatre on the Air's "Life of St. Paul of Tarsus," Sunday, November 27, 8 P.M., CBS; Bach Cantata series, Sunday, November 27, 8 P.M., Mutual; Westminster Choir College of fifty mixed voices, Monday, November 28, 9:30 P.M., NBC-Blue Network; Wilbur Daniel Steele's "The Giant's Stair," Thursday, December 1, 10 P.M., CBS; and José Iturbi conducting the Rochester Philharmonic, Thursday, December 1, 8:30 P.M., NBC-Blue Network.

Listeners in the New York City area are reminded of the excellent programs on WQXR. Several hours each morning and all evening this station plays classical music or presents interesting talks. Program schedules may be obtained from the station for a small fee.

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Books in Review

Tract for Our Times

MAX LERNER is one of those rare people who have the gift of looking at both sides of a question, recognizing the sound arguments that can be made for each, and the faults of each, balancing one against the other—then making his own choice and acting on it. He combines the judicial temper with a sense of urgency and with a willingness to take risks for the side he has chosen. That is what distinguishes him from the older liberals—from most of them, at any rate—and what makes his book a tract and manifesto for our times. But the times are changing rapidly and perhaps, he says, it is later than we think.

Of his nine chapters, the most important is a short one called "The Left in Retreat." It has to be summarized at some length. It concerns the dilemma of the radicals, those who believe "that men can, by their social intelligence, fashion their communal lives." In Europe these men, most of them Marxists, reached their highest pitch of hope and enthusiasm during the five years that followed the Russian revolution. In America they reached it during the last year of the Hoover administration, when it seemed that the capitalists were committing mass suicide and revolution was just around the corner. But "Hitler in 1933 made us say goodbye to all that. . . . The old aggressors were now on the defensive; the revolutionists trembled for the safety of the *status quo;* those who had called bourgeois art and thought decadent now hastened to the defense of the western cultural tradition." Beginning in 1936, the Russian trials completed the process of disillusionment. The fellow travelers of the radical movement began drifting back to liberalism, "like a husband coming home after disastrous amatory adventures and finding a loveliness in his wife that he had been blind to all along."

But liberals and radicals are drawing closer together in a common distress. Today, Lerner says, the problem for both of them is one of sheer survival. A new situation demands new tactics, and the best that has been proposed is "a peace pact struck between the proletarian parties, the trade-union groups and the liberals of the middle class—a pact of defense against fascism, but one that may also in the long run be used as an offensive for the winning of socialist power"—in other words, a Popular Front. Such an alliance has many weaknesses, in practice as in theory, but there is no other policy that offers any hope of progress, or much hope of even preserving things as they are.

That, I think, is his real thesis; in the rest of the book he develops its implications and applies them to the situation at home and abroad. Lerner believes that a Popular Front has brighter prospects now that the parties of the Left are learning to make the same appeal to patriotism and tradition that used to be made by the conservatives. "To me the most important new development in the radical movement . . . lies in its rediscovery of the past." He believes that fighting against the advance of fascism may eventually lead to war, but that yielding to fascism will produce the same result, with less chance of saving our liberties. He believes that the parties and classes in a Popular Front will sooner or later fall apart, and that any decided step toward socialism may produce an armed revolt, but this, he thinks, is a risk to be run. "If violence has to come, let it be thrust upon you by capitalist resistance to democratic advance. And meet it as a legal government that has a clear claim to the support of everyone with a stake in the democratic tradition." He believes that ultimately we must go beyond politics to human values. At the end of the book he suggests the outlines of a humane philosophy that can mediate "between the claims of the individual to freedom and expression and the claims of the mass to social cohesiveness and survival."

Most of the beliefs he expresses are beliefs that I also hold—not with such clearness as Max Lerner, because my field is literature rather than government, but still with a sense of having reached the same destination by a more roundabout path. Many others will read him with a similar feeling of assent; indeed, there is more agreement among people of our time and tastes and training than anyone would guess after following some recent controversies. The points at which I differ with Lerner are chiefly matters of emphasis. I should say, for example, that the situation of the radical movement is even darker than he paints it, with more battles lost, more weakness from internal quarrels and more positions surrendered without fighting. He was writing in the days before Munich, and it was later than he thought.

Again, I should judge that he overestimates the chances for success of a Popular Front. He says that he has stated the case against it "with as much cogency as I know how. I should like its opponents to think that even one who disagrees with their position can state it fairly." There is no question of his fairness, yet even so he overlooks some of the worst disadvantages.

Every party in a Popular Front has the power of veto over the others, with the result that the policy adopted is almost always that of the most conservative or do-nothing faction. A Popular Front can rarely take decisive action, with the result that it is at a disadvantage when dealing with foreign nations, especially fascist nations organized for sudden strokes and counter-strokes. A Popular Front is likely to be defeated, diplomatically or politically, with the result that its supporters become disillusioned and drift away. Yet in spite of these arguments that he fails to mention, I can't help agreeing with Lerner's conclusion that the policy of a Popular Front is not a choice but a necessity. The politicians of the Left have racked their brains and found simply nothing to take its place. Moreover, it has still to be given a fair trial. The worst defeats it has suffered in France and Spain and Czechoslovakia have been

[1] **It Is Later Than You Think: The Need for a Militant Democracy, by Max Lerner. New York: The Viking Press. 270 pages. $2.50.**

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caused by England, and they might have been avoided—they might still be remedied—if there were a Popular Front in England too.

There are sections of the book where the analysis is less thorough and original than Lerner is capable of making. Sometimes he leads us up to the threshold of a discovery without unlocking the door. Sometimes he neglects the actual institutions that politicians have to struggle with; you wonder what party will carry out his program. Sometimes his style is slipshod, as compared not with other political writers but with his own best work. He has a tendency to use the streamlined stereotypes of liberal journalism (including the words "streamlined" and "stereotype"). All these are faults of haste that call for no apologies. Quite obviously Lerner was driven ahead by the need for saying what he had to say, for making people listen and act while there still was time. Already it is later than we think.

MALCOLM COWLEY

The Palace and the House

Further Letters of Gerard Manley Hopkins, Including His Correspondence with Coventry Patmore. Edited with Notes and an Introduction by Claude Colleer Abbott. New York: The Oxford University Press. 336 pages. $6.

THE BODY of Gerard Hopkins' prose is now as fully published as it is ever likely to be. Professor Abbott has little hope of adding further papers to the two volumes of correspondence with Bridges and Dixon which he edited in 1935, the notebooks issued by Humphry House in 1937, and the present miscellaneous collection covering the years 1862 to 1888 and notable chiefly for Hopkins' correspondence with Patmore, of which only fragmentary glimpses have been hitherto available in the biographies of Champneys and Lahey.

With each successive volume it has become apparent that Hopkins' contribution to modern poetics does not lie in his verse alone, and that his acute and searching intelligence made a judgment on English poetry which must rank among the keenest appraisals of its resources, craft, conflicts and direction that have appeared since Coleridge. It is fragmentary in appearance; it may show what Eliot believes the poems to show—a disability in sustained utterance and the complete projection of its energies; it may be that this limitation was inherent in the temperament of Hopkins himself and made inevitable the incomplete resolution of his genius which seems undeniable in both his spiritual life and his poetry. But it becomes more and more impressive that the force of this irresolution was a consuming passion for sincerity in word and motive; that his whole existence and strength derived from that "suspense of certitude" which kept his perceptions and demands on the stretch; that it drove him to make the most unsparing exactions of character and art, even in his most admired friends; and that it provides a clue to his great importance in the history of romantic esthetic in the past century.

"A perfect critic is very rare," Hopkins wrote to Mowbray Baillie. "The most inveterate fault of critics is the tendency to cramp and hedge in by rules the free movements of genius. . . . The first requisite for a critic is liberality, and the second, liberality, and the third, liberality." Sentences like these may fix Hopkins among the image-breakers of critical tradition, a repudiator—here as in his verse—of classic law and an apologist for the experimental license that brought about a deterioration of romantic principles. The truth is that this liberality meant for Hopkins not only an extension of the means and methods of poetic creation, but a testing, on the artist's own terms, of those ultimate and ruthless laws that are called into being when personality or art announces its independence of convention and inherited order. His secret conscience went into mediating between the poet's creative necessity and the rigor of tradition and of fact. He found a case of this conflict in Patmore. That proud and autocratic talent labored to make "The Unknown Eros" a new kind of poetry, as independent in its metrical and stylistic novelty as in its handling of erotic and mystical symbolism. Hopkins had his doubts about Patmore's metaphysics, but he spent his utmost scruple on seeing the ambition justified. His scrutiny of the old poet's dubious words and images, flaws in taste and observation, insensibilities of cadence and tone, are a lesson in proving the discipline of creative experiment; and Patmore, who found himself almost wholly adrift among Hopkins' own manuscripts, had the courage to face and use his friend's emendations and to say, "Your careful and subtle fault-finding is the greatest praise my poetry has ever received."

It was in this tension between law and liberty, form and license, tradition and experience, that Hopkins saw the salience of all art to lie. Coleridge and Mallarmé gave other versions of that principle at opposite ends of the nineteenth century, but the striking feature of Hopkins' ideal is its emphasis on the discipline of realism, and its removal of the poet's craft from the deluding confines of metaphysical formulas or arbitrary symbolism. It appears in his brilliant discussion of Keats's genius, which is now printed in full, and in his discernment of the whole problem of romanticism that existed in Keats's division between the "unmanly and enervating luxury" of his youthful work and the "reason, thought, what he did not want to live by" that compelled his nature before the end. It shows in his accurate sentence on Yeats's early work, whose "strained and unworkable allegory" won the reproof that "common sense is never out of place anywhere, neither on Parnassus nor on Tabor nor on the Mount where our Lord preached"; in his admiration of William Barnes who, "like Homer and all poets of native epic," was "provided with epithets, images and so on which seem to have been tested and digested for a long age in their native air and circumstances and to have a *keeping* which nothing else could give"; in his saying of Tennyson's inventions that "extreme ingenuity and turns of pure fancy in art are in great danger of frigidity"; in his agreement with Coleridge that "a palace should be at least a house."

Coming from Hopkins these demands have a special force. They not only remove him from the esoteric purposes of the French Symbolists and the stiffening or enervating decorum of his fellow poets in England, but explain the essential and vital energy of his poems. They illuminate the work and character of an artist whose influence will gradually lose its phenomenal value and become recognized as one of the soundest correctives modern poetry has yet submitted to—a "praise" as valid as any it has yet received.

MORTON DAUWEN ZABEL

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Money Still Writes

Lords of the Press, by George Seldes. New York: Julian Messner. 416 pages. $3.

TAKING THE DOMINANT MEMBERS of the American Publishers' Association, Mr. Seldes has compiled a biographical Devil's Rosary, and he tells his beads in 416 vivid, readable pages. Incidentally, George Seldes has put most of his friends, the daily book reviewers, on the spot. For, in the course of producing a deeply significant book, he has caressed the boss with a red-hot poker, with the result that many reviewers, after wrestling with their consciences, may feel it expedient to dismiss it with a disparaging paragraph.

Yet "Lords of the Press" is the most important book of the year for men who work on daily newspapers, as well as for those who read them with any discrimination. Most of them will agree that it is a fair estimate. Mr. Seldes has much praise for the fighting liberalism (against heavy odds) of David Stern and his three papers; he gives due credit to The New York Herald Tribune for its decent attitude on freedom of speech and civil liberties. If he takes The New York Times to task somewhat severely for coloring its news it is not because it is a frequent offender, but rather because its reputation for impartiality has been so high. The same stricture might apply to his pointed observations on ominous new trends in the Scripps-Howard papers.

Few newspapermen will take issue with his vigorous chapters on Hearst, McCormick, Chandler and other big names in the American Publishers' Association, whom he reveals as reactionaries consistently class-angling the news. Although the book contains interesting chapters on Washington correspondents, columnists and foreign correspondents, its focus is directly on the men who own the press, rather than those who work for it.

If these Press Lords are with few exceptions reactionary, the answer, as Mr. Seldes frequently implies, lies in the economic structure of the present-day newspaper. For in order to print the truth you must have not only the will to do so, but the money as well. The process of gathering, writing, checking, editing, printing and distributing facts is expensive, and in America today most of this money is supplied by advertising. In a competitive situation, advertising tends to gravitate toward the newspaper or magazine that is most friendly to business.

There is also pressure from readers, and this does not always work to the advantage of the true, the beautiful and the good. For many reader-groups in the various economic strata want class-angled newspapers which will reinforce their preconceived ideas. I submit, for instance, that if The New York Sun and The Daily Worker could arrange a friendly swap of news staffs and editorial writers, within six months The Worker would become the Bible of Westchester County and The Sun a tower of strength on the lower East Side. And since 1,000 corporation directors have more purchasing power than 1,000 WPA workers, a newspaper which caters to their whimsies will attract more advertising and can pay higher dividends and salaries to its staff. So any liberal newspaper labors under a definite financial handicap.

Another factor in that complex equation which makes a solvent newspaper is the fact that many people buy them as they buy tickets to a burlesque show—to be entertained. Therefore, many newspapers pay more for comic strips and features than they spend for a wire news service. The bill is footed by advertising, of course, and it gives stability to reactionary papers with mass circulations. It explains the apparent contradiction of the Hearst press, which retained much of its low-income-bracket circulation during the 1936 election, although its readers probably voted three to one for Roosevelt.

But even though American democracy has developed a healthy tolerance to poisoned news, George Seldes has rendered a distinguished public service in deflating the windy pretensions of the American publishers. As watchdogs of freedom, few of them can be taken seriously, even though they snarl viciously when anyone approaches their cash registers.

W. L. WHITE

The Castle of Doubt

Edwin Arlington Robinson, by Hermann Hagedorn. New York: The Macmillan Company. 414 pages. $3.

JUDGED by even the modest standards of contemporary American experience Robinson's life was singularly uneventful. Apart from a short visit to London he never traveled. New York, Boston, Gardiner, Maine, and the McDowell Colony in New Hampshire were his world. Associations he had with a few men and women of literary eminence, but these served chiefly to emphasize by contrast his own deep retirement. His one contact with history was the opportunity he afforded Theodore Roosevelt to revive a tradition of federal aid to writers by appointing him to a sinecure in the New York Customs House. In the hedonistic formula, wine, women and song, he struck out the middle term; and necessary as drink became to him he could almost sacrifice that to song. Robinson was poet and nothing else, though he yielded to this fate reluctantly. "If I could have done anything else on God's green earth I never would have written poetry. There was nothing else I could do, and I had to justify my existence."

In this dearth of external matter Mr. Hagedorn has reverted to a type of biography which originated with Izaak Walton and became classic with Boswell—that of portraiture. He has accomplished a complete feat of evocation. By diligent search among Robinson's associates he has supplemented his personal knowledge with the recollections of others until we have a vital impression of the eccentric schoolboy at Gardiner; the rejected poet at Harvard; the wanderer in New York whose physical suffering reminds one of the famous tragedies of authors, from the Elizabethan bohemians to Francis Thompson; and finally the sage of the McDowell colony, composing in his rocking chair facing Monadnock, or playing pool after dinner in the common room. Robinson's taciturnity found compensation in an immense number of letters, and from these Mr. Hagedorn has reconstructed a mental experience which was as rich as the physical was limited. And he has drawn upon Robinson's poetry with great skill to clinch the total effect of a human being struggling against the oppression of an unintelligible and intolerable world, with something of the baffled, tortured mysticism of a character by Dostoevsky.

Robinson walked this world in a mood of deep distrust. He distrusted his own power of meeting and mingling with

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it, and this suspicion he extended to the public which became aware of his genius. And yet what friends he had! Laura E. Richards and John Hays Gardiner in his youth; Saben and Burnham at Harvard; the contemporary poets Moody, Dan Mason, Ridgely Torrence, Josephine Peabody, Percy MacKaye and Hagedorn himself; the guardians of his later life, Mrs. Davidge, Lewis Isaacs, Jean Ledoux and Mrs. McDowell. Mr. Hagedorn's biography is full of records of friendship rare and fragrant, to which Robinson responded with almost fantastic loyalty. His friends saved him from starvation and drunkenness. They put him over as poet, gathering for him the rewards which he was incapable of grasping for himself.

It might have been thought that such ample evidence of personal values would have relieved in large measure the gloom with which Robinson contemplated the human race, but it was not so. He was too thoroughly the child of his age. In his modern characterizations, which followed Browning's search for special cases of tragic import; in his Arthurian romances, in which he accepted Tennyson's version of an allegory of modern social decay, he saw only the damned. In his last poem, "King Jasper," he turned revolutionary.

Significant as these later works are, they lack the compression and condensation of the incomparable Luke Havergal, John Evereldown, Miniver Cheevey. The high economy which was among Robinson's chief literary virtues may have been in part responsible for the tardiness of his recognition, although this is no excuse for failure to assess him truly at the outset. The present reviewer, who sat on the board of The Harvard Monthly which rejected some of Robinson's early verse at a time when publication would have meant much to him and to The Monthly, here does public penance for the unpardonable sin.

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Unwrapping the Mummies

Never to Die: The Egyptians in Their Own Words, selected and arranged, with a commentary, by Josephine Mayer and Tom Prideaux. New York: The Viking Press. 224 pages. $2.75.

OF ALL THE NATIONS OF ANTIQUITY, Egypt and Greece give us the most gracious reception, and ancient Egypt has rarely been more graciously introduced than in this little book. I have promised to turn my copy over to my nine-year-old daughter. She will not understand all of it, naturally, but she will get real pleasure out of it. I shall further have occasion to refer adults to "Never to Die" as a vivid and attractive summary.

Those who think of Egypt as perpetually frozen in the enduring stone of pyramids and sphinx, as forever wrapped in mummy bandings, will do well to linger over the illustrations. They supplement the text admirably with pictures which show a vigor, litheness and warmth characteristic of this gay, alert, life-loving people.

The book selects thirty-odd Egyptian texts, ranging from 3000 to 1000 B. C., and presents them in the translations of modern Egyptologists. Such a selection is a matter of individual taste. If I miss some favorites—such as the classic of the shipwrecked sailor, the recently discovered allegory called "The Blinding of Truth," and those cries from the heart in late penitential hymns—I cannot cavil at the offering laid before me. It is well rounded, carefully edited and supported with a succinct background of commentary.

Thus equipped, we enter the temples of the Egyptians and chant with them a hymn to the rising sun. We stand respectfully while a Polonius 4,000 years before Shakespeare charges his son with shrewd maxims for getting on in the world. Across a span of centuries our hearts stir at Thutmose III's hymn of victorious conquest or at a wistful love lyric. And we chuckle at the irreverent, bouncing tale of the contendings of the gods or at the persistent misadventures of the envoy to Syria. This, rather than the mummies and the Sphinx, is ancient Egypt.

The professional Egyptologist will find ample opportunity to quarrel with the editors' selection of translations. They have often used obsolete sources, 1895 translations where 1927 renderings were available to them. Thus, in the tale called "The Eloquent Peasant" practically every personal and geographical name is wrong from the modern standpoint. Fortunately, names are not important. But the medical Papyrus Ebers has been taken on the authority of an 1890 translation. Medical knowledge has made a real advance since that date; the prescription given at the top of page 79 does not call for the use of *onions* against *indigestion* but asks for the use of the *bitter gourd* against a *cough*. In the text given on page 82, the bloodthirsty goddess Hathor is not stayed in her destruction of mankind by the magico-medical qualities of the *mandrake*, but becomes drunk on beer, to which *hematite* has been added to give the color of blood.

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It would be easy to multiply such examples. Ironically the subtitle to this book, "The Egyptians in Their Own Words," may be criticized as meaning "the Egyptians in freely selected translations." But the editors are not Egyptologists and must not be blamed for some confusion in the face of a formidable literature of technical and controversial studies. Egyptologists must share the blame because they have not made themselves very intelligible.

The spirit is more important than the letter of the word, and the spirit has here been captured with great success. These are truly the "words of the great dispenser of entertainment." JOHN A. WILSON

New Books: A Reader's List

INSECURITY: A CHALLENGE TO AMERICA, by Abraham Epstein (Random House, $4). A revised edition of Epstein's classic discussion of social security, with a large amount of new material. The foremost American authority on this subject gives bitter but unanswerable criticism of our present social-security measures.

GUIDE TO THE PHILOSOPHY OF MORALS AND POLITICS, by C. E. M. Joad (Random House, $2.50). A popular survey of old and new theories, neatly classified, summarized and discussed in a comfortably copious style which tends to spare the reader's brains, sometimes at the expense of his patience. Contains a vigorous criticism of "totalitarian" doctrines; the author's own political position amounts to Fabianism.

TRUE HUMANISM, by Jacques Maritain (Scribner's, $3.50). According to this distinguished Catholic philosopher, a clear distinction must be maintained between Christianity, which is an eternal truth, and the temporal forms of Christendom determined by the varying needs of each epoch. He outlines the principles of a new social order, a "personalist democracy," destined to succeed capitalism and to preserve the ideas of freedom and human dignity.

AN AMERICAN READER, edited by Burton Rascoe (Putnam's, $3.50). A one-hundredth-birthday album, with selections from the best work Putnam's has published during its distinguished career. Contributors range from Lowell and Thoreau to Lindbergh. An introduction by Burton Rascoe contains a capsule history of American publishing and hearty congratulations.

TAKE HEED OF LOVING, by Dulcie Sancier (Carrick and Evans, $2.50). A good-natured, cynical novel about a tired adventuress who is determined to marry into the restful if dull serenity of the British landed gentry, but slips up when she lets love get the better of her calculations. A first book and a bright one.

I'M NOT COMPLAINING, by Ruth Adam (Liveright, $2). A young English school teacher tells in a readable, brisk manner of the romances and enmities of her women colleagues, and also touches upon local politics. She does not sob over the frustrated woman; she even suggests that the born teacher may prefer teaching to domesticity.

THE KENTS, by LeGrand Cannon Jr. (Farrar and Rinehart, $2.50). Portrait of an American family in business on and off for fifty years. Though his method is somewhat desultory and his situations commonplace, Mr. Cannon has a refreshing slant on manufacturing and the man who lives for it. Told simply, against a realistic background of ledgers and account books and stock-market headaches.

ARE THE LIBERALS DOOMED?

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IT IS LATER THAN YOU THINK

The Need for a Militant Democracy

by MAX LERNER

THE VIKING PRESS, New York, N. Y. $2.50

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REASON AND REVELATION IN THE MIDDLE AGES, by Etienne Gilson (Scribner's, $1.50). Gilson is the world's leading authority on medieval philosophy. In this brief work he clearly and precisely shows how Augustine, Averroes and Thomas Aquinas differ on the question of the relation between faith and reason. The account of Averroes is particularly sympathetic and illuminating. Gilson seems to be a little frightened by the Augustinians, with their insistence on the absolute priority of faith. He himself leans towards the Thomistic answer that both faith and reason are important and though distinct, are yet compatible.

NOTHING TO CHANCE, by Charles Plisnier (Reynal and Hitchcock, $2.50). The boudoir doings of two women who marry for convenience and wind up with much connivance, encountering murder, greed, theft, intrigue—everything, in short, but love. Merciless in its insight into feminine finesse. Winner of the Goncourt Prize.

TO REMEMBER AT MIDNIGHT, by Michael Foster (Morrow, $2.50). Behind the footlights with an actress, from her seedy but picturesque training in vaudeville on through her Broadway success, which is rather less convincing. Enough tenderness and color here to satisfy a wide audience; but the story is better when it smells of stale beer and greasepaint than of old lavender.

Contributors

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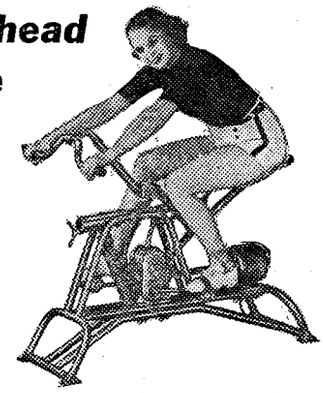

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